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MENANDER  
VOLUME II



NEW  
TRANSLATION

*Edited and translated by*  
W. G. ARNOTT





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## MENANDER

### II

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# MENANDER

## VOLUME II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

W. G. ARNOTT



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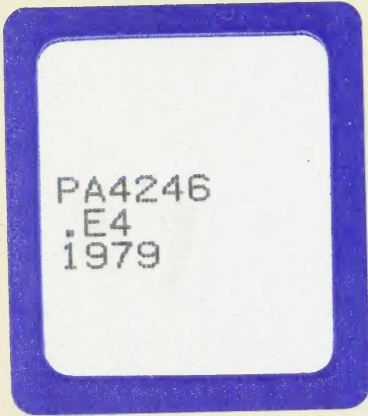
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## PREFACE

The delay in the appearance of this second volume of the Loeb Menander, which is entirely the responsibility of its editor and translator, has nevertheless made possible some substantial benefits. Menandrian papyri have continued to be published in the last sixteen years, and this volume can accordingly include more of *Kitharistes* and *Misoumenos* than would have been available earlier, together with new scraps of *Leukadia*, which illuminate that play's unusual opening.

The principles followed in the first volume and sketched out in its preface are here continued, but there is one minor adjustment which seems to be advisable. In my translation, on the advice of some reviewers, I now generally avoid the literal translation of oaths and attempt to substitute more modern and idiomatic phrases.

The line-numbering used for *Kolax* and particularly *Misoumenos* in previous editions has become unwieldy, and new schemes are adopted here; the one for *Misoumenos* I have sought to justify in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 110 (1996), 27. It avoids the addition of letters and stars to some of the numbers, and should σὸν θεῶ continue to prove serviceable if in the future further portions of text surface from the Egyptian sands.



## PREFACE

The text and apparatus of each play in this volume are based, as before, on a study of good photographs of the papyri wherever possible. Unpublished photographs of the two Berlin papyri of *Misoumenos* and of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of *Perinthia* have been supplied to me; due acknowledgement is made below. No photograph has ever been published of the papyrus of *Koneiazomenai* now in Tbilisi; here I have been compelled to rely on the full reports of G. Zereteli and A. Körte; the bibliographical details of its first edition in 1909 are now given fully and correctly for the first time.

I should like to supplement those acknowledgements of help, advice and useful information received from institutions and colleagues which are listed in the preface to the first volume by thanking here the Bodleian Library in Oxford for supplying a photograph of *P. Oxyrhynchus* 855 of Menander's *Perinthia*, Dr Colin Austin for making available to me his photographs of *P. Berlin* 13281 and 13932 of *Misoumenos* and for other helpful information, Dr Revell Coles, Dr M. Gronewald, Professor E. W. Handley, Dr Malcolm Heath, Professor G. Paduano and Dr W. Stockert for advice, publications and helpful information, and above all Mrs Philippa 'Goold, whose courteous assistance as subeditor and proof-reader has been invaluable. It is sad that the names of Charles Brink, Konrad Gaiser, Harry Sandbach and Günther Zuntz can no longer be added to the above list; here death has robbed us of both scholarship and true friendship.

Leeds  
January 1996

W. GEOFFREY ARNOTT

## Supplement to the Bibliography in Volume One

### Editions

- (b) The monostichs. See also Rudolf Führer, *Zur slavischen Übersetzung der Menandersentenzen* (Königstein 1982).
- (d) Complete editions of the papyri of Menander known today. F. H. Sandbach (text: 2nd edition, Oxford 1990, with an appendix containing *inter alia* the new fragments of the fourth act of *Epitrepontes*, the first act of *Misoumenos* and fr. 1 of *Kitharistes*). I have not myself seen the editions of I. Zacharopolos (Athens, undated but in the 1970s) and A. Ramírez Trejo, I (Mexico City 1979).
- (e) Selections from the papyri. Guido Paduano (Milan 1980: *Asp.*, *Dysk.*, *Epit.*, *Perik.*, *Sam.*).
- (f) Single plays.
  - Aspis*. No complete edition, but a commentary on vv. 1–163 by A. H. Groton (Diss. University of Michigan 1982, available on microfilm).
  - Dyskolos*. M. de Fátima de Sousa e Silva (Coimbra 1976). Stanley Ireland (Warminster 1995).
  - Epitrepontes*. Francesco Sisti (Genoa 1991).
  - Misoumenos*. Francesco Sisti (Genoa 1986).
  - Perikeiromene*. Mario Lamagna (Naples 1994).
  - Samia*. J. Thomsen (Copenhagen 1977). H. Offermann (Stuttgart 1980). D. Bain (Warminster 1983).
  - Sikyonioidi*. A. M. Belardinelli (Bari 1994, defending the plural form of the title).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

? *Hydria*. Konrad Gaiser, *Menanders 'Hydria'* (*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1/1977), identifying the extensive papyrus fragments of the 'Strobilos comedy' (no. 244 in Colin Austin, *Comiconum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta*, Berlin 1973, pp. 252–265) as Menander's *Hydria*, but see R. L. Hunter, *Classical Review*, 29 (1979), 209–211 and Jürgen Blänsdorf, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 232 (1950), 42–66.

### *Photographs*

*The Cairo Codex of Menander* (P.Cair. J. 43227) (Institute of Classical Studies, London 1978), with a preface by Ludwig Koenen, contains new and clearer photographs of this papyrus, prepared under the supervision of H. Riad and Abd el-Kadr Selim.

### *Bibliographies*

#### (b) After 1958

(i) *Dyskolos*. J. M. Jacques, *L'Information littéraire* (Paris), 35 (1983), 168–172.

(ii) and (iii) General surveys. F. Uebel, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 21 (1974), 171, 191–202, and 22/23 (1974), 363–365. L. V. Pavlenko, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* (Moscow), 2/140 (1977), 154–159.

A. Blanchard, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 94 (1981), 496–501. H. J. Mette, *Lustrum*, 25 (1983), 15–30, and 27 (1985), 27–31. W. Luppe, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 27 (1980), 233–234, 236–238 and 250, and 38 (1992), 78–82, 84.



HEROS  
(THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT)

## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscript*

C = *P. Cairensis* 43227, part of a papyrus codex described more fully in the introduction to *Epitrepontes*. *Heros* seems to have been the second of the five or more plays originally contained in the codex.<sup>1</sup> Extant in C are a metrical hypothesis and cast-list to the play, its first 52 lines (some of them damaged), and a series of scraps (with text on both sides) which have been assembled to form three fragments, two of which certainly and the third possibly derive from a later stage in the play. First edition: G. Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre* (Cairo 1907); the same editor's *Papyrus de Ménandre* (Cairo 1911), with a revised text, contains photographs, as does *The Cairo Codex of Menander* (*P.Cair. J.* 43227) (Institute of Classical Studies, London 1978).

Fragments 1–8 are definitely, and 9–10 doubtfully,

<sup>1</sup> This can easily be inferred from the fact that the sheet of papyrus containing the opening of the *Heros* is numbered  $\kappa\theta$  (= 29) on its first side and  $\lambda$  (= 30) on its second. Each extant side of C contains from 33 to 38 lines, averaging 35.75. Accordingly there was room before the *Heros* for one play of about 950 to 990 lines, prefaced perhaps, like the *Heros*, by a hypothesis and cast-list.

assigned quotations from a multitude of sources. See vol. I pp. xxiv–xxv.

This text, like the Bodmer codex of the *Dyskolos*, is prefaced by a 12-line metrical hypothesis and a list of characters arranged presumably in order of their appearance on the stage. Unlike the Bodmer codex, however, the Cairo papyrus does not add a didascalical notice (the *Heros* accordingly cannot be dated<sup>1</sup>), and its hypothesis is not foisted upon the Hellenistic scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium. The plot summaries that such verse hypotheses contain are often found to be inaccurate over details when these can be checked against completely preserved texts of tragedy or comedy, and there is at least one statement in the hypothesis of *Heros* that arouses suspicion. The man who reared the twins is said to have given them to their true father as a security for a loan (hyp. 3–4); this seems to be a distortion of the true facts, if Daos' version of the events (not admittedly a wholly accurate one,

<sup>1</sup> The text of the play fragments themselves provides no tangible clues to the date. A plausible supplementation at line 46 puts Gorgias on a visit to the island of Lemnos, and this probably rules out the period 314 to 306 B.C., when the island was lost to Athens. At line 30 there is a reference to a recent famine, but the comedy of Menander's age is so full of references to the high price of food and the consequent hardships of the poor that we are driven to assume that famine was a regular visitor to Attica between 324 and 291 B.C. The modern historian, however, is here hindered by the inadequacy of our ancient sources. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911), 50 f., 64 f. (Lemnos), 66 f. and 133 (famine), and Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988), 154–164.



either!) in the first scene is to be believed. Daos says there that the foster-parent died seriously in debt to Daos' master, and the twins thereafter began to work off the debt as employees of the creditor.

Even so, judicious combination of the information provided by the *Heros* hypothesis with the cast-list and with the clues scattered about the dramatic fragments, particularly those of the expository opening scene, allows us a fairly clear picture of the antecedent events on which the plot is based, and a reasonable idea about the two major elements in the dénouement.

Eighteen years before the action of the play begins (cf. line 94), a man raped a woman, who then bore twins, a boy and a girl. The raper later married the woman without realising that she had previously been his victim. The cast-list enables us to identify the raper as Laches and his wife as Myrrhine (cf. also line 72). The twins were called Gorgias and Plangon (24–25); of them only Gorgias has a speaking part in the play. When they were still babies Myrrhine gave them to a freedman shepherd named Tibeios from the village of Ptelea, the scene of the play. This shepherd pretended that the twins were his own children (23 ff.), and this may have been what the twins themselves were brought up to believe. Tibeios eventually died, having got heavily in debt to Laches, his former master. When the play opens the twins are working for the creditor in order to pay off Tibeios' debt. The inaugural complication is caused by Plangon's situation. She in her turn has been raped by a young neighbour, identifiable from the cast-list as Pheidias, and she is pregnant. Daos, a slave in Laches' house, is in love with Plangon and

wishes to set up house with her.<sup>1</sup> Laches has given his consent, and only his temporary absence from Athens holds up the union between Gorgias' sister and Daos, who is willing to pretend that Plangon's expected child was fathered by himself. These plans appal Myrrhine, who was probably the only person in the house aware of the twins' relationship to her. Apparently, however, Myrrhine was as ignorant of the true identity of her own ravisher as she was of Plangon's (hyp. 9).

The hypothesis refers to the play's double dénouement (hyp. 10–12). Laches and Myrrhine discover that they are the joint parents of Gorgias and Plangon; and Plangon, now the acknowledged free daughter of Athenian citizens, is able to marry Pheidias.<sup>2</sup> Some brief passages

<sup>1</sup> So far as Daos knew, Plangon was the daughter of the freedman Tibeios, and the status of a freedman's children, especially those born before he was freed, was equivocal. When Daos says that Plangon was 'in a way' a slave (line 20: line 6 of the hypothesis is less subtle), he means simply that her status was not so different from his own that a settled relationship between them was unthinkable. Slaves were allowed to live together with members of their own class or with the children of freedmen in relationships which doubtless could last as long as those of formal marriage, but marriage itself was limited in Attica to free citizens. Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, I (Oxford 1968), 21–29, 177, 184–186, and D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978), 87.

<sup>2</sup> Menander's comedy avoids sentimentality. Daos' infatuation for Plangon may have been handled very sympathetically in the play's opening scene, but Daos was a slave and Plangon the daughter of free Athenian citizens. Furthermore Pheidias, who had fathered Plangon's child, was a free (and probably wealthy) young Athenian. In a civilisation which valued property, citizen-

from the scene in which Laches and Myrrhine make their discovery appear to be preserved in a series of scraps from the Cairo codex, but they are tantalisingly mutilated, and in the absence of further evidence it would be unprofitable to speculate overmuch about the details of the dénouement or of the earlier plot structure. Daos may at one point have sought to justify to Myrrhine his love for Plangon (cf. fr. 2). The cast-list testifies to the appearance later in the play of two slaves named Sangarios and Sophrone. The latter name is elsewhere in comedy given to aged nurses (Men. *Epit.*; Terence, *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*; cf. [Aristaenetos], *Ep.* 1. 6), and if Sophrone had been the go-between at the time when Myrrhine disposed of her baby twins to Tibeios, her role in their subsequent recognition of their parents may have been important.

The cast-list contains one further name of interest. After the opening scene between Getas and Daos, the exposition was apparently continued in a prologue speech delivered by the play's title figure, the 'guardian spirit' of my translation. These spirits, or 'heroes' as they are often called, played an important part in Greek popular religion.<sup>1</sup> They came half way between gods and

ship, and formal marriage between free-born citizens, the only conventionally acceptable resolution of the plot would be a wedding between Pheidias and Plangon.

<sup>1</sup> The standard account is L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921, reprinted 1970). Cf. also M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1940), 18–21, W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (London 1950), 231–235, and Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (transl. J. Raffan, Oxford 1985), 203–208.

## HEROS

humans. Many of them were the spirits of dead celebrities—real and fictional—who were believed to guide from their tombs the fortunes of cities, tribes, demes and individuals in public and private affairs. Such a spirit was aptly chosen to deliver the prologue in a comedy of this kind. None of the human figures possessed all the background information essential to the exposition. And one of the functions of these guardian heroes was that of helping men and women unhappily wounded by love.



[H]P[ΩΣ M]ENANΔΡΟΥ

(Η ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ)

- ἄρρεν <τε> θῆλύ θ' ἅμα τεκοῦσα παρθένος  
 ἔδωκεν ἐπιτρόπῳ τρέφειν· εἴθ' ὕστερον  
 ἔγημε τὸν φθείραντα. ταῦτα δ' ὑπέθετο  
 ὁ τρέφων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγνοῶν. θεράπων δέ τις  
 5 ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ἔρωτα τῆς νεανίδος  
 ὁμόδουλον εἶναι διαλαβών. γείτων δέ τις  
 προηδικήκει μετὰ βίας τὴν μείρακα.  
 τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ θεράπων στρέφειν  
 ἐβούλετ'· οὐκ εἰδυνῖα δ' ἡ μήτηρ ἄγαν  
 10 ἐδυσχέraitνε. καταφανῶν δὲ γενομένων  
 εὔρειν μὲν ὁ γέρων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίσας,  
 ὁ δ' ἡδικηκῶς ἔλαβε τὴν κόρην θέλων.

Title and hypothesis taken from the Cairo papyrus.

Title Suppl. ed. pr.

Hypothesis 1 Corr. Wilamowitz: αρρεντεκουσαπαρθενοσθη-  
 λυθ'αμα C. 2 Corr. several: επιτροφω C.

## THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT BY MENANDER

### (HYPOTHESIS)

A maiden bore twin babies, boy and girl.  
She gave them to a guardian to rear,  
And later married her seducer. Unawares  
Their foster-father pawned them for a loan  
To him.<sup>a</sup> A servant deemed the girl a slave 5  
Like him, and fell in love with her. A neighbour  
Had previously forced the maid. The servant  
Desired to focus blame upon himself.  
The mother didn't know the truth, and was  
Exceedingly displeased. The facts came out. 10  
The old man found and recognised his own.  
The violator gladly took the girl.

<sup>a</sup> 'Him' must be the seducer mentioned in line 3. The statement appears to be inaccurate: see the introduction to *Heros*.

## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜ(ΑΤΟΣ) ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Γέτας

Δᾶος

Ἡρως θεός

Μυρρίνη

Φειδίας

Σωφρόνη

Σαγγάριος

Γοργίας

Λάχης

Cast-list, as it appears in the Cairo papyrus.

## DRAMATIS PERSONAE

presumably in order of speaking

Getas, a slave probably in Pheidias' household

Daos, a slave in Laches' household

The guardian spirit, a local divinity who spoke the  
prologue

Myrrhine, the wife of Laches

Pheidias, a young man, the ravisher of Gorgias'  
twin-sister

Sophrone, probably Myrrhine's old nurse

Sangarios, a slave probably in Laches' or Pheidias'  
household

Gorgias, the son of Myrrhine

Laches, an old man

The cast-list in the Cairo papyrus does not mention any mute characters, who in this play may have included Plangon, Gorgias' twin-sister. Nor does it refer to the chorus, who may have performed the customary entr'actes in the guise not of the conventional tipsy revellers, but of huntsmen from Athens (see on fr. 1, below).



## ΗΡΩΣ

(SCENE: *Ptelea, a small but wealthy village whose precise location in Attica is still a little uncertain. It is most likely to have been about 2½ miles west-north-west of Athens in the Kephisos valley at the edge of the Aigaleos hills, less than half a mile north of the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis. A less likely site is on the other side of the Aigaleos hills, in the eastern part of the Thriasian plain.*<sup>a</sup> A street in the village, backed by two houses; one belongs to Laches and his family, the other to Pheidias.)

### ΓΕΤΑΣ

κακόν τι, Δᾶέ, μοι δοκεῖς πεποηκέναι  
 παμμέγεθες· εἶτα προσδοκῶν ἀγωνιᾶς  
 μυλῶνα σαιτῶ καὶ πέδας· εὖδηλος εἶ.  
 τί γὰρ σὺ κόπτεις τὴν κεφαλὴν οὕτω πυκνά;  
 5 τί τὰς τρίχας τίλλεις ἐπιστάς; τί στένεις;

In the apparatus to this play, those corrections and supplements whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr., G. LeFebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre* (Cairo 1907).

<sup>a</sup> Cf. J. S. Traill, *The Political Organisation of Attica* (*Hesperia*, Supp. Vol. 14, 1975), 49, and Eugene Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, 35 (1966), 280. Ernst Meyer's entry in *RE* xxiii (1959), 1478 f., now needs revising.

<sup>b</sup> The punishment that slaves feared most was that of being

## HEROS

(The Guardian Spirit)

*(The play opens with a conversation between the two slaves Getas and Daos. Daos may have entered first, probably from Laches' house or by the entrance to the spectators' right which was conventionally assumed to lead to the city of Athens. Daos appears to be in great distress. A moment later Getas enters, probably by the entrance on the spectators' left, assumed to lead into the country. He is carrying a bundle of wood, which he puts down to talk to Daos.)*

GETAS

You look as if you've done a terrible  
Crime, Daos! You're distressed. Expecting to  
Be sent quern-pushing in leg irons?<sup>b</sup> Can't  
Be doubted—otherwise, why smack your scalp  
So much, why stand and tear your hair out, why  
Whimper?

5

sent to work in a flour mill, where they had the laborious and monotonous task of pushing a saddle-quern backwards and forwards all day long, often with their feet fettered (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 15–19, Terence, *Phormio* 249). See L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1958), 34 ff. and 67.

# MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

οἷμοι.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὦ πόνηρε σύ.  
 εἶτ' οὐκ ἐχρήν, κερμάτιον εἰ συνηγμένον  
 σοὶ τυγχάν]ει τι, τ[ο]ῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τέως  
 εἰ συγκυκᾶς] τὰ κατὰ σεαυτὸν πράγματα;  
 10 φιλῶ σε, Δᾶε, καὶ σ]υνάχθομαί γέ σοι  
 εἰ προσδοκᾶς λυπ]ηρά.

ΔΑΟΣ

σὺ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι  
 ληρεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ συμπ]έπλεγμαι πράγματι  
 ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ δι]έφθαρμαι, Γέτα.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

πῶς γάρ, κατάρατε;]

ΔΑΟΣ

μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς <τῶν> θεῶν,  
 15 βέλτιστ', ἐρῶντι.]

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τί σὺ λέγεις; ἐρᾶς;

ΔΑΟΣ

ἐρῶ.

6 οἷμοι C. 8-15 A large tear has removed the opening 9 to 16 letters of these lines. Plausible supplementation is well-nigh impossible; the text printed here is merely *exempli gratia*, in order to provide the reader with a continuous text. 8 σοὶ τυγχάν]ει suppl. Körte. 9-10 Suppl. Arnott (in 10 after van

HEROS

DAOS

Oh dear!

GETAS

It's something like that, you

Poor thing . . . So shouldn't you have given me

Your savings—any you've perhaps amassed,

[If you're mismanaging] your own affairs?

[I like you, Daos, and] I sympathise

10

[If] troubles [lie ahead].

DAOS

[Your drivelling]

Defeats me. Getas, I'm entangled in

Something [surprising—and] it's shattered me!

GETAS

[Damn you, how's that?]

DAOS

[Dear fellow], by the gods,

Don't *damn* [a lover]!

GETAS

(*pricking up his ears*)

What's that? You in love?

15

DAOS

I am.

---

Leeuwen, who suggested ἐπεὶ φιλω σε καὶ], and ed. pr., who suppl. σ]υνάχθωμαι). 11 Suppl. van Herwerden. 12 λη-  
ρεῖς suppl. Croiset, ἐγὼ γὰρ Sandbach (ἐγὼ δὲ van Leeuwen),  
συμπ]έπλεγμαι Leo. 13 ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ suppl. Sand-  
bach, δι]έφθαρμαι Croiset. 14 Suppl. Körte. προσθεων C:  
corr. Leo. 15 Suppl. van Leeuwen.



# MENANDER

ΓΕΤΑΣ

πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης  
παρέχει. πονηρόν, Δᾶ· ὑπερδειπνεῖς ἴσως.

ΔΑΟΣ

πέπονθα τὴν ψυχὴν τι παιδίσκην ὁρῶν  
συντρεφομένην, ἄκακον, κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ὦ Γέτα.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

20 δούλη 'στιν;

ΔΑΟΣ

οὕτως, ἡσυχῇ, τρόπον τινά.  
ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ  
Πτελέασι, γεγονὼς οἰκέτης νέος ὢν ποτε.  
ἐγένετο τούτῳ δίδυμα ταῦτα παιδιά,  
ὥς ἔλεγεν αὐτός, ἥ τε Πλαγγών, ἥς ἐρῶ—

ΓΕΤΑΣ

25 νῦν μανθάνω.

ΔΑΟΣ

—τὸ μειράκιόν θ', ὁ Γοργίας.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ὁ τῶν προβατίων ἐνθάδ' ἐπιμελούμενος  
νυνὶ παρ' ὑμῖν;

16–17 Adesp. fr. 444 Kock      21 See Men. fr. 1075 Kock

16 πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theodosii Canones*, i. 293. 30 Hilgard: ]χοινικων C.      25–26 Change of speaker after Γοργίας indicated by ed. pr. (no dicolon is now visible in C at this point).      27 ὑμῖν Leo: ημιν C.

## HEROS

GETAS

Your master's more than doubled your  
Grain ration.<sup>a</sup> That's bad, Daos. Overfed,  
Perhaps?

DAOS

My heart throbs when I see her. She  
Grew up with me, she's pure, and, Getas, she's  
My class!

GETAS

A slave?

DAOS

Yes—nearly . . . in a way.

20

You see, there was a shepherd living here  
In Ptelea, he'd been a slave when young,  
Tibeios, who'd got these twin children—that's  
What he himself said—Plangon, she's the girl  
I worship, . . .

GETAS

Now I see!

DAOS

. . . and Gorgias,

25

The boy.

GETAS

The one you've now got here, in charge  
Of the sheep?

<sup>a</sup> Literally, 'Your master provides you with more than two *choinikes* (sc. of grain each day).' The normal ration that an Athenian master allowed his slave seems to have been much less than this—possibly only one *choinix* (= about one litre) a day. Compare also fr. 10 of *Heros*.

# MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

οὗτος. ὦν ἤδη γέρων  
 ὁ Τίβειος ὁ πατήρ εἰς τροφήν γε λαμβάνει  
 30 τούτοις παρὰ τοῦμοῦ δεσπότου μνᾶν, καὶ πάλιν—  
 λιμὸς γὰρ ἦν—μνᾶν· εἴτ' ἀπέσκλη.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τὴν τρίτην  
 ὥς οὐκ ἐπεδίδου τυχὸν ὁ δεσπότης ὁ σός.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἴσως. τελευτήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν προσλαβὼν  
 ὁ Γοργίας τι κερμάτιον ἔθαψε καὶ  
 35 τὰ νόμιμα ποιήσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε  
 ἔλθων ἀγαγὼν τε τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπιμένει  
 τὸ χρέος ἀπεργαζόμενος.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἢ Πλαγγὼν δὲ τί;

ΔΑΟΣ

μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης ἐργάζεται  
 ἔρια διακονεῖ τε.

31 Corr. Arnott: ἀπεδίδου C.

<sup>a</sup> 100 drachmas.

<sup>b</sup> The funeral took place before sunrise on the third day after death. The 'normal ceremonies' mentioned here would include the dinner in memory of the dead man directly after the funeral,

## HEROS

DAOS

That's the man. When he grew old,  
Their father—this Tibeios—borrowed from  
My master for their keep one mina,<sup>a</sup> then  
Another. Life was hard. It killed him.

GETAS

When

30

Your master wouldn't lend him number three,  
Perhaps?

DAOS

Maybe. He died, and Gorgias  
Borrowed some more cash for the funeral,  
The normal ceremonies.<sup>b</sup> After that  
He came to us here with his sister, and  
He's stayed, while working off the debt.<sup>c</sup>

35

GETAS

And Plangon?

DAOS

She spins and weaves wool with my mistress, and  
Works as a servant.

a rite at the tomb on the ninth day after burial, and a further rite to mark the end of the period of mourning. See D. C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971), 142–161, and Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London 1985), 21–27.

<sup>c</sup> Tibeios had presumably contracted to repay the loan by working for Laches without pay for a fixed time, and when he died before the stipulated amount of work had been completed, the duty of fulfilling the contract devolved on Gorgias and Plangon, who passed for his children. Cf. the Gomme-Sandbach *Commentary*, on *Heros* 36.



MENANDER

ΓΕΤΑΣ  
παιδίσκη;

ΔΑΟΣ

πάνυ,

Γέτα—καταγελαῖς.

ΓΕΤΑΣ  
μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω.

ΔΑΟΣ

πάνυ, Γέτα,

40 ἐλευθέριος καὶ κοσμία.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τί οὖν σύ; τί

πράττεις ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ;

ΔΑΟΣ

λάθρα μὲν, Ἡράκλεις,

οὐδ' ἐγκεχείρηκ', ἀλλὰ τῶμῳ δεσπότη

εἴρηχ', ὑπέσχηταί τ' ἐμοὶ σ[υνοικιεῖν

αὐτὴν διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τ[ὸν ἀδελφόν.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

[λαμπρὸς εἶ.

43 Suppl. Croiset. 44 τ[ὸν ἀδελφόν suppl. ed. pr., (Γετ.)  
λαμπρὸς εἶ Wilamowitz.

<sup>a</sup> If the interpretation suggested here is correct (see *Classical*

HEROS

GETAS

(*leering*)

Serves you, does she?<sup>a</sup>

DAOS

(*innocently*)

Yes,

Getas. You're laughing!

GETAS

By Apollo, no I'm not!

DAOS

She's really decent, Getas, well-behaved.

GETAS

And you—

40

How are you pushing *your* claims?

DAOS

Heracles,

No monkey business—haven't even tried it! No,  
I told my master, and he's promised she  
[Can join] me, once he's seen [her brother].

GETAS

[You're]

[In clover!]

*Quarterly*, 18, 1968, 225–226), Getas makes a coarse pun here which is difficult to translate effectively. The word rendered by 'Serves you, does she?' is *παιδίσκη*, which often means simply 'a girl' (cf. line 18), but in current usage had become a euphemism first for a slave girl and then for a prostitute. Getas asks with apparent innocence, 'A girl?' Daos' immediate reaction, 'Yes', comes before he has had time to appreciate Daos' equivocation, and Getas bursts out laughing at the success of his verbal trick.

# MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

45 τί λαμπρός; ἀποδημῇ τρ[ίμηνος ἐπὶ τινα  
πρᾶξιν ἰδίαν εἰς Λῆμ[νον· ἄμφω δ' ἐλπίδος  
ἐχόμεθα τῆς αὐτῆς [  
σώζοιτο.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

χρηστὸς [οὔτος

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

[

ὄνησις εἴη.

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

πολυπ[

50 φρονεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ κλι[  
θύσαιμ' ἀνόνητο. . . . [

52 ᾧ ξυλοφορῶ [

(Eight further shreds of the Cairo papyrus have been skillfully fitted together into three fragments with text on both sides: γθ, δεζ, and θη. Fragment γθ comes from the bottom of a page; it contains an address to a Myrrhine and a reference to a shepherd in two successive lines (here 72–73), and its subject matter suits what is known of the plot of the *Heros* very well. Its attribution to this play seems certain. Fragment δεζ can be assigned to the *Heros* with even greater confidence, for two of its broken

45 τρ[ίμηνος suppl. Sudhaus, ἐπὶ τινα Croenert, Leo.

46 Λῆμ[νον suppl. Croenert, Leo, ἄμφω Arnott, δ' ἐλπίδος Sonnenburg. 48 Suppl. Arnott (οὔτοσί Sudhaus).

# HEROS

## DAOS

Clover? *He's* away in Lem[nos] — 45  
 [Three months on] private business. [Both of us]  
 Cherish the same [hopes. My one prayer's for]  
 His safe [return].

## GETAS

A good man, [Laches ]

## DAOS (?)

[ ]

I hope it's fruitful.

## GETAS (?)

Much [

You're sensible. You see, I [ 50

I'd sacrifice in vain [

For whom I carry wood [ 52

lines (76–77) tie with a quotation made from this play by Stobaeus (*Eclogae* 4. 40. 13 = fr. 211 Kock). The other side of δεζ (the verso or vertical-fibres side) contains the end of one act and the beginning of the next. Fragment θη, on the other hand, is a maverick; although editors of Menander print it alongside γθ and δεζ as part of the *Heros*, nothing in the few words preserved on it supports its attribution to this play.

Furthermore, even if all three fragments do belong to the same play, their relative placing must be considered uncertain. Fragment δεζ (verso) contains the beginning of an act. The most plausible speaker of the opening words in this new act is Laches; of the characters in this



play, only he can talk of 'giving' a girl to a 'bridegroom' (56). In the cast-list prefaced to the text of the opening scene, Laches' name comes last: he was, therefore, the last of the characters to be seen on the stage. This is not surprising if he was supposed to be on a visit to Lemnos when the play opens (45-46). Yet his words at this act opening do not look like those of a character just now making his first entry, newly arrived from abroad (contrast *Aspis* 491 ff.). If Laches returned home in the third or fourth act, the new act that begins on fr.  $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  will be either the fourth or the fifth act, with the balance of probability perhaps in favour of the fifth. But does the recto (or horizontal-fibres) side of  $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  precede or follow the verso? And where does fr.  $\gamma 0$  come in relation to  $\delta\epsilon\zeta$ ? Neither question can be answered with complete confidence. If  $\gamma 0$  and  $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  belong to the same sheet of papyrus—and this has never been objectively established, although it is assumed to be true by virtually all modern editors of Menander<sup>1</sup>—it follows that  $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  precedes  $\gamma 0$  (which comes from the foot of the page), but the vertical space between the two fragments could be anything from 1 to 19 lines (on a hypothetical 37-line page). If the contents of the fragments are then considered, it becomes a plausible supplementary assumption that the verso comes before the recto. The argument for this is circumstantial. The speakers in fr.  $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  and  $\gamma 0$  on the verso side seem to be Laches and Myrrhine. They begin with reference to Plangon's betrothal to Daos ( $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  v. 2 = 56), and continue with Laches' observation that something—quite possibly his reaction to news about Plangon's baby—is causing Myrrhine to be flustered and perspire ( $\gamma 0$  v. 8 = 72). Laches may now have begun to wonder why Myrrhine

(The references in the mutilated lines 51 and 52 to 'sacrificing' and 'carrying wood' are obscure. Is Getas perhaps bringing brushwood that he has collected as fuel for a sacrifice planned by his master (Pheidias probably)? If he is, the purpose of that sacrifice cannot be established, because the Cairo papyrus leaf ends at this point, leaving us in ignorance about most of the developments in this and the succeeding acts. Fragment 10 (see below) may be a further short extract from the opening scene, but it adds nothing to our knowledge of the plot. After the two slaves make their exits at the end of this scene, the guardian spirit from whom the play takes its title enters to deliver the prologue; this may safely be inferred from the cast-list.

The hypothesis (lines 10–12) mentions the two major elements in the *dénouement*: Laches' discovery that he is the father of Myrrhine's twin children, and Pheidias' union with Plangon. A few rays of light are shed on Menander's management of Laches' discovery by a small group of papyrus shreds from the Cairo codex. These pose a series of papyrological and other problems which are discussed on pages 22, 23, 24 and 26. It is a working but unverifiable hypothesis that two of these fragments ( $\delta\epsilon\zeta$  and  $\gamma 0$ ) provide four brief snatches of text (these shreds, like all the remains of the Cairo codex, carry

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<sup>1</sup> In recent times F. H. Sandbach (*Gnomon*, 19, 1967, 766, and *Commentary*, 393–396) has sounded a desirable note of caution.

was so concerned about Plangon's misfortune (see the discussion on pages 25, 27 and 29). The recto side would then provide a natural continuation of this agitated conversation, with Myrrhine first lamenting her misfortune, secondly being questioned about the rape that led to her own pregnancy (δεζ r. 3-6 = 76-79), and finally being compelled to recall the circumstances surrounding that event eighteen years ago (γ0 r. 5 = 94). As this arrangement of frs. γ0 and δεζ makes dramatic as well as papyrological sense, it has been adopted in this edition, but only as a working hypothesis, not as a proven solution.)

(a) *Cairo fragments δεζ and γ0, in their provisionally accepted order*

δεζ verso

53

]ελοιμ' ω[  
]ι[.]σοι[.]... τούτο τ[

XO P [OT

ΜΕΡΟΣ Ε' (or less probably Δ')

ΛΑΧΗΣ'

55

ὦ Ἡρά]κλεις, ἔα μ'· ἀμαρ[τάνειν δοκῶ  
εἰ νῦν] δίδωμι νύμφ[ίφ τήν Πλαγγόνα;

57

]μα[

55-56 ὦ Ἡρά]κλεις suppl. Jensen, the rest (tentatively and *exempli gratia*) Arnott after ideas by Robert and Sandbach.

## HEROS

*text on both sides of the sheet) which derive from the end of one act and the opening scene of the next. This new act is most probably the play's final act,<sup>a</sup> and its opening scene a tense dialogue between Laches and Myrrhine which gradually leads Laches to the discovery that Gorgias and Plangon are his own children. The four snatches of text, in their probably correct sequence, but see the discussion on the facing pages, are:)*

(a) *Cairo fragments δεζ and γθ, in their provisionally accepted order*

### Fr. δεζ verso

*(This fragment begins with two mutilated lines which close an act, but there is no clue to the identity of the speaker or speakers, and virtually nothing is coherent enough for translation (line 54 reveals the word this). The opening two lines of the new act, however, can be tentatively restored to provide part of a speech addressed by Laches to Myrrhine as they come on to the stage in mid-conversation:)*

### ACT V (or less probably IV)

#### LACHES

Don't nag me! [Hera]cles! [You think I'm wrong]	55
[In] giving [Plangon to] a husband now?	56

*(Clearly Laches, having returned from his private busi-*

<sup>a</sup> The possibility that it was the fourth cannot, however, be entirely ruled out.



A gap of between 1 and 19 lines, then

γ0 verso

65     [.]...σι.ο[  
           τούτω. : πο[  
           μᾶλλον δι.[  
           τὴν Θράττα[ν

ness in Lemnos which kept him outside the dramatic action in the play's opening two or three acts, has immediately confirmed the promise he made earlier (cf. lines 42-44) that Daos should be allowed to set up house with Plangon. And Myrrhine, with her secret knowledge that she is Plangon's mother, has been opposing Laches' intention, without being able to reveal her true reasons. After fr. δεζ (verso) there is a gap of between one and nineteen lines before the next shred of text, on fr. γ0 (verso).)

## Fr. γ0 verso

(Of the first four lines of this fragment only the opening letters are preserved, but even though little here makes sense when translated (66 To this or With this, followed by a change of speaker; 67 Rather; 68 Thratta or The Thracian woman), the paragraphi placed under lines 66, 67 and 68, together with the dicolon in 66, indicate that originally these lines must have contained lively dialogue. The speakers were presumably Laches and Myrrhine; what were they discussing? If 'Thratta' or 'The Thracian woman' (66) was Tibeios' widow, as has been suggested, she may have been living with Plangon in Laches' house after her husband's death. It is possible that Laches has suddenly discovered that Plangon is having or more probably has just had a baby (the birth may well have taken place during the play). If so, Laches may here be announcing his decision to expel Plangon along with the baby and Tibeios' widow from his house, in exactly the same way as Demeas expels Chrysis and the baby from his house in the *Samia*. This hypothesis at any rate would allow us to make tolerable sense of the ensuing five lines of this fragment, which are a well-preserved puzzle.)

# MENANDER

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

σὺ τάλαινα.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

τί; φ[α]νερῶς γε, νὴ Δί', ὦ γύναι —

70

εἰς κόρακας.

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

ἐξέστηκας· οἶα γὰρ λέγεις.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

ἂ καὶ ποήσω καὶ δέδοκταί μοι πάλαι —

ιδρώς, ἀπορία· νὴ Δί', εὖ γ', ὦ Μυρρίνη,

73

ἐπ' ἑμαντὸν ἔλαβον ποιμέν', ὃς βληχώμενον

A gap of up to 21 lines, then

δεξ recto

74

]οντρ[

75

ὥς γ]ὰρ ἀνδριά[s

69 Text established by Sudhaus, part-division and assignments by Webster: *ταλαιναφ[.]νερωσ* C, with *τι*: misplaced at the end of the line, at one letter's interval after *γυναι*. 70 Division of speakers after *κόρακας* suggested by Körte (C places its dicolon after *ἐξέστηκας* in error). 72 *απορια·* or *απορια*: C. 75 *ὥς γ]ὰρ* suppl. Sudhaus, *ἀνδριά[s* Körte.

# HEROS

## MYRRHINE

(*thinking of Plangon*)

Poor girl!

## LACHES

What? Wife, It's obvious, I swear —  
To hell with them!

69

## MYRRHINE

You're crazy! What a thing to say!

70

## LACHES

My mind was made up long ago, I'm going  
To do it! (*to himself*) Sweating, nonplussed! Myrrhine,  
by Zeus,  
I well deserved a shepherd with a bleating

73

*(The fragment closes, as it opens, in mystery. Laches' threat to expel Plangon has caused Myrrhine, her mother, to break out in perspiration. When the fragment breaks off, Laches is in the middle of a bitter joke about his shepherd, for the word translated 'bleating' (βληχώμενον) is used in Greek to describe the sounds made by both sheep and babies. After fr. γ0 (verso), there is a further gap of between one and 21 lines before the next shred of text, on fr. δεζ recto.)*

## Fr. δεζ recto

*(The first line of this fr. yields only four unintelligible letters, but thereafter something can be made out of the dialogue even where the lines are mutilated. The speakers, on the assumption that frs. δεζ and γ0 belong to the same leaf of text, are still Laches and Myrrhine. At line 75 we appear to have [like] a statue, part of a remark which*

# MENANDER

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

ὥς οἰκτρόν, ἥ τοιαῦτα δυστυχῶ μόνη,  
ἀ μηδὲ πιθανὰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἔχει.

ΛΑΧΗΣ (?)

] πάθος ἡ γνώμη σφό[δρα.  
ἀλλ' ἡδίκηκε]ν ἐκ βίας σέ τις ποτέ;

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

80 γά]ρ.

ΛΑΧΗΣ (?)

ὑπονοε[ί]ς ὅστ[ις]  
81 ]τιγῆμ[

A gap of up to 21 lines, then

γ0 recto

90 ]ι γε σύ  
]ς ὅτι  
]ρέστατον

76-77 The full text is preserved by Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 40. 13:  
]ιαντα[... ]νχωμο[ , ]ασν[... ]ρβολαζεχ[ C. 76 τοιαῦτα  
Hirschig (and C? Before ]ιαντα in C there is space for only 12  
letters): τὰ τοιαῦτα mss. of Stobaeus. 79-80 Suppl. Sud-  
haus. 91 Or ὅ τι.



## HEROS

*doubtless Laches made about the appearance of Myrrhine, petrified now by the direction which the conversation is taking. The next five lines are better preserved.)*

MYRRHINE

How poignant! I alone must suffer blows  
So bad that no one could imagine worse!

76

LACHES

Grit's the best [antidote to] tragedy.  
[But] did a man [misuse] you once, by force?

MYRRHINE

[Yes. He was drunk.]

LACHES

Any idea who [he was]?

80

*(Here the fragment breaks off, apart from a few incomprehensible letters in line 81. The conversation has now moved on to the occasion when Myrrhine was raped. Why does Myrrhine consider her bitter experiences exceptional (lines 76–77)? Presumably because she is thinking not only of her own rape years ago, but also of her daughter Plangon's recent parallel experience; but the loss of the preceding context makes this an uncertain speculation. Lines 78–80 lead the conversation towards its final climax, but a gap now intervenes of between one and 21 lines, before we come to fr. γ0 (recto).)*

Fr. γ0 recto

*(Of this fragment's first four lines only the end letters survive, and assignment to speakers is impossible. Line 90 yields you, 91 that or what. From the end of 93 a fuller, but not undamaged, passage is preserved.)*

# MENANDER

ΛΑΧΗΣ (? : it is unclear where this speech begins)

π]ρῶτον λέγε.

ἐ]τη 'στιν ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκ' ;

ΜΤΡΡΙΝΗ

οὐ[κ] ἔστιν μόνη

95 .....].αὐτ'· ἔστω δὲ τοῦτ', εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

ἄσαφές] τὸ πρᾶγμα γίνεται. πῶς λανθάνει

97 ὁ π]ρ[οσ]πεσών σε; πῶς δ' ἀπέλ[ι]πε; πηνίκ[α

94 Or μόνη. 95 Corr. Sudhaus: συδοκεῖ (possibly, but not certainly, followed by a dicolon) C. 96 Suppl. Körte. 97 ὁ π]ρ[οσ]πεσών suppl. Jensen, ἀπέλ[ι]πε deciphered and suppl. Sandbach.

(b) *Cairo fragment θη, doubtfully assigned to this play*

(If the maverick fragment θη derives from the same page or the same scene as δεζ and γ0, nothing in it helps to establish its position relative to the other two fragments. It may, on the other hand, derive from another scene in the *Heros*, or even from another play in the Cairo codex. Accordingly, it is printed here separately from δεζ and γ0, and given a new line-numbering, with the traditional one of editions such as Körte's and Sandbach's added in brackets.)

## HEROS

LACHES (? *the opening words are lost*)

] tell me first.

93

It's eighteen years ago?

MYRRHINE

There's more than one

] But drop the subject, please.

95

LACHES

The puzzle's [worse] now. How did this assailant

Avoid your seeing him? How did he leave you? When

97

*(Here the fragment breaks off in mid-question, and the final details which led Laches to identify himself as the unknown assailant are lost to us.)*

*The above discussion of these four fragments rests on the assumption that they all come from the same scene. It cannot be stated too often, however, that it is only an assumption, and that other interpretations, based perhaps on less economical hypotheses, cannot be excluded. If the two scraps δελ and γ0 do not come from the same papyrus leaf, for example, they could derive from different scenes; γ0 from the conversation between Myrrhine and Laches, but δελ from a different conversation between Myrrhine and another character such as Sophrone her nurse.)*

(b) Cairo fragment θη, doubtfully assigned to this play

*(A third scrap of papyrus from the Cairo codex, fragment θη, is thought by many scholars to belong to the same leaf as frs. δελ and γ0, but no evidence for this belief has ever been advanced other than subjective impression. Thus fr. θη may be part of the climactic scene between Myrrhine and Laches discussed above, but it may equally well*

## MENANDER

*θη verso*

101	]. . . . . [.] ρην
(60 Kō, S)	]. ὅτι τῆς πολλῆς . [
	]ε. . [.] ἄσωτο[
	κ]αὶ συνδοκ[εἰ
105	λέ]γει δ' αὐτῷ πόθ[εν
(63)	. [.] . τινα
107	]ονκ[

$\theta\eta$  recto

108        .]ρ[  
(83)    ἡσχύν[ε]θ' οὗτο[s  
110    ᾿Αλέας ᾿Αθάνας [  
(85)    .]υ δῆτα· καὶ μ[  
          ἐ]λθεῖν ἐκει[  
          νῇ τὸν Ποσειδῶ  
(88)    λαβεῖν .δ.[  
115    ἐλθ[

110 Kock fr. 967

104 κ]αὶ deciphered and suppl. Arnott, συνδοκ[εῖ Sudhaus.

105 Suppl. Jensen. 110 = Euripides, *Auge*, line 1 (see Ludwig Koenen, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 4 (1969), 7–11. 111 Either  $\sigma|\nu$  (ed. pr.) or  $\omicron|\nu$  (Körte).

*derive from another scene of the Heros or indeed from a scene of one of the other plays in the Cairo codex. The two bits of text that it contains are very scrappy and generally—apart from one phrase ( $\theta\eta$  recto, line 3 = 110 in this edition)—uninformative.)*

Fr.  $\theta\eta$  verso

*(This side contains the ends—or near-ends—of seven lines. A few words here and there are intelligible (that of much 102, a profligate man 103, it's agreed 104, tells him from where 105, some 106), but nothing emerges to identify speaker(s) or situation.)*

Fr.  $\theta\eta$  recto

*(The beginnings of eight lines, with paragraphi below the second, third, fifth and seventh. The speakers in the dialogue cannot be identified, but one of them must be male, since he swears by Posidon (113), an oath confined to men. The following words and phrases are translatable: speaker A, He was ashamed (109); speaker B, "Of Alea Athena" (110); A, You or No, followed by certainly; and [       ] / Came there (or He came) (111–112); A again (after a lost interjection by B?), or a new character C, Yes by Posidon [       ] / Took (113–14), B (?), Came (115). It is possible—no more than possible—that a rape is being discussed. The key phrase is "Of Alea Athena" in line 110, where the name Athena is spelled not in the normal Attic way but in the Doric form favoured by Greek tragedy. It seems likely therefore that the speaker is here quoting from tragedy, very possibly the opening words of Euripides' Auge, which appear to have run "Of Alea Athena*



\* \* \*

*Eight fragments of Ἡρώς, quoted by ancient authors*

1 (8 Körte)

The *Lexicon Sabbaiticum* (edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Petersburg 1982), p. 4), with the heading Μένανδρος Ἡρώι·

νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστρεως  
κυνηγέταις ἤκουσι περιηγήσομαι  
τὰς ἀχράδας.

---

<sup>a</sup> The goddess Athena was worshipped with the cult-title of Alea (the meaning of Alea is uncertain: it may be connected with ἀλέα = 'warmth', or with the name of Aleos the Arcadian hero) in several parts of the Peloponnese, but especially in Tegea. Here her shrine was founded, according to legend, by this same Aleos, king of Tegea, and his daughter Auge was Athena's priestess there at the time of her violation by Heracles. Cf. especially, L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I (Oxford 1896), 274–276.

here's the gold-rich house" (cf. L. Koenen, ZPE 4, 1969, 7 ff.). In Euripides' *Auge* the heroine may have recalled how she was ravished by Heracles while she was washing Athena's robe at a spring, probably within the precincts of the temple of Athena at Tegea. Under what circumstances is Euripides' opening line most likely to have been quoted in a play by Menander? It is hard to know, but a woman might have recalled or hinted at the illustrious precedent of Auge and Heracles, if she had herself been raped in similar circumstances, possibly in a temple precinct, but not necessarily that of Alea Athena in Tegea, the legendary site of the Auge myth.<sup>a</sup> If fr. 0η does after all derive from the Heros, that woman is most plausibly to be identified as Myrrhine. But too many women were raped in too many plays of Menander for this identification to be more than speculative.)

\* \* \*

*Eight fragments of Heros, quoted by ancient authors*

1

*Lexicon Sabbaiticum*: Menander in Heros,

But now I'll guide  
The huntsmen coming from the city round  
The wild pear trees.

*The identity of the speaker is uncertain, but these lines sound like an excuse for removing him or her off stage at the end of a scene. Could the huntsmen referred to here have been the chorus, replacing the more usual group of tipsy young men? In that case this fragment would come from the closing lines of the first act, since the arrival of the chorus is mentioned only there in the surviving work of Menander.*

## MENANDER

### 2 (1 Kö, 209 Kock)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 20a. 21 (περὶ Ἀφροδίτης), with the heading Μέανδρος Ἦρωι.

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

δέσποιν', ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλέον,  
οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ κρατῶν <τῶν> ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν  
Ζεύς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ πάντ' ἀναγκασθεὶς ποεῖ.

2 τῶν om. mss. of Stobaeus, suppl. Grotius. 2-3 Ms. A omits θεῶν and transposes to ἀναγκασθεὶς πάντα.

### 3 (2 Kö, 210 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 29d. 60 (περὶ εὐγενείας) quotes the whole fragment with the heading Μέανδρος Ἦρωι. Line 2 became proverbial, and is cited without play-title in ancient and Byzantine collections of the monostichs ascribed to Menander (line 19 of the 4th-century A.D. *P.Bouriant* 1, first published by P. Jouguet and P. Perdrizet, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* (Leipzig), 6 (1906), 148 ff. = *Pap.* II. 19 Jäkel; line 768 of the Byzantine collections in Jäkel, cf. W. Mayer, *Sitzungsberichte Munich* (1890) 366).

ἐχρῆν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ καλὸν εὐγενέστατον,  
τὸν ἐλεύθερον δὲ πανταχοῦ φρονεῖν μέγα.

2 δὲ Bentley; δὲ δεῖ mss. of Stobaeus, δεῖ *P.Bouriant*, ἀεὶ ms. K of the monostichs.

### 4 (3 Kö, 212 K)

Athenaeus 10. 426bc: ἔδοξε πᾶσι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κράσεων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. καὶ τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι Μέανδρος ἐν Ἦρωι ἔφη·

χοῦς κεκραμένου  
οἶνον· λαβὼν ἔκπιθι τοῦτον.

## HEROS

### 2

Stobaeus ('On Aphrodite'): in Menander's *Heros*,

DAOS (?)

There's nothing, mistress, with more power than love —  
Not even Zeus himself, who rules the gods  
In heaven. Love controls his every action.

*The speaker is a slave addressing his or her mistress. Although a case might be made for assigning the lines to the nurse Sophrone, their most plausible context must be a speech by Daos to Myrrhine in which the slave defends his love for Plangon. A speech with a similar justification was made in Euripides' first Hippolytus (fr. 431 Nauck<sup>2</sup>). The theme of the universal power of love, however, is a commonplace in Greek literature (see Barrett's note in his edition of Euripides' Hippolytus, on 1277–80).*

### 3

Stobaeus ('On Nobility'): in Menander's *Heros*,

For virtue should be true nobility,  
And free men everywhere show dignity.

*On v. 2 see the opposite page. These high-sounding platitudes are too unspecific to be assigned to a particular speaker or context.*

### 4

Athenaeus: They all agreed to discuss the dilutions of wine with water among the ancients. One of them noted that Menander had said in *Heros*,

Five pints of wine,  
Diluted. Take this, drink it up.

*Could this have been said towards the end of the play, at a*

5 (4 Kō, 213 K)

Photius (a 1548 Theodoridis) and the *Suda* (a 1950 Adler) s.v. ἀναλυθῆναι· τὸ καθαρμῶ τινι χρήσασθαι φαρμάκων. Μένανδρος Ἡρωι·

ἐπεφαρμάκευσ', ὧ γλυκύτατ', ἀναλυθεὶς μόλις.

Lemma φαρμάκων *Suda*, φαρμάκῳ Photius (-κω ms. z). Ἡρωι *Suda*, Ἡρωσι ms. b of Phot. (quotation of Menander omitted by z).

Fragment ἐπεφαρμακεύσω b of Phot., -κευσο A of *Suda*, -κευσον other mss. of *Suda*: corr. Arnott.

6 (5 Kō, 214 K)

Ammonius, Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων (p. 249 Nickau): ἴσθι καὶ γίνωσκε διαφέρει . . . καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Ἡρωι·

εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο συγχωρήσομαι.

7 (6 Kō, 215 K)

Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theodosii Canones* (l. 410. 15–17 Hilgard): ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θηλυκοῦ τοῦ ἡ παῖς γίνεται ἡ παιδίσκη . . .

τῶν <δὲ> παιδισκῶν τινι

δούς,

---

<sup>a</sup> A diminutive: on its meaning see also my note on *Heros* 38.



## HEROS

*party celebrating the betrothal or wedding of Pheidias and Plangon?*

### 5

Photius and the *Suda* defining ἀναλυσθῆναι: to practise purgation of drugs (or poisons). Menander in *Heros*,

My dearest, you'd been drugged, and barely purged!

*A puzzling line. In Menander's comedies, only women use the expression translated here as 'My dearest', and so the speaker is likely to have been Myrrhine or Sophrone. It is hard to think of a convincing context, if the words are to be taken literally. Could Myrrhine have been speaking metaphorically to Laches, who had either relapsed into an abnormal state after initial recovery from it, or just now recovered from a previous abnormal state? Both interpretations are possible; as it stands, without further context, the line is ambiguous.*

### 6

Ammonius: ἴσθι (be certain) and γίνωσκε (make certain) are different . . . Menander in *Heros*

Be certain—I shall go along with that!

*Speaker and context are unknown. The Greek can mean either 'I too shall' or 'and I shall'.*

### 7

Choeroboscus: the word παιδίσκη<sup>a</sup> (girl) is formed from the feminine use of παῖς (child) . . . ,

Giving to

One of the girls.

## MENANDER

παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν τῷ Ἑρωι.

δὲ om. mss., suppl. Meineke.

8 (7 Kö, 216 K)

Choeroboscus, *Scholia in Theodosii Canones* (1. 176. 39–177. 1 Hilgard): ὁμόφωνός ἐστιν ἡ κλητικὴ τῇ εὐθείᾳ, οἶον ὁ δυστυχής, ὦ δυστυχής, ὡς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν τῷ Ἑρωι.

ὦ δυστυχής, εἰ μὴ βαδιεῖ

βαδιῆς mss.: corr. Schneidewin.

*Two further fragments, whose attribution  
to Ἑρῳς is very uncertain*

9 (9 Kö, 868 K)

The Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* 1. 454. 7): ἀστείος καὶ ἀστικός, διττῶς. Μένανδρος †προ†ποιήσεις ἀστικὸν σαντὸν πάλιν.

Μένανδρος Ἑρωι· ποήσεις conj. Toup, but Meineke's Μένανδρος· πάτερ, ποήσεις is no less plausible.

10 (10 Kö, 345 K)

Hermias' commentary on Plato, *Phaedrus* 230e (p. 33. 11 ff. Counceur): οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἀπλῶς φαῦλον τὸ ἐρᾶν,

## HEROS

In Menander in the *Heros*.

*Speaker and context are unknown.*

### 8

Choeroboscus writes: the vocative sounds the same as the nominative, e.g. ὁ δυστυχῆς (the poor fellow), ὦ δυστυχῆς (poor thing!), as in Menander in the *Heros*,

Poor thing, if you don't go . . .

*Speaker and context are unknown.*

*Two further fragments, whose attribution  
to Heros is very uncertain*

### 9

The *Collection of Useful Terms*: ἀστέιος and ἀστικός have two meanings (sc. 'urban' and 'urbane'). Menander in *Heros* (?),

You'll make yourself a city man again.

*Here 'in Heros' is an uncertain attempt at correcting a corrupt text; another conjecture would yield the sense: 'Menander,*

*Father, you'll make yourself . . .'*

### 10

Hermias of Alexandria's commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus*: Some assumed that being in love was simply vulgar, like . . .

## MENANDER

ὥς . . . ὁ εἰπὼν "πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκῳ γαστρὸς αὖξεται  
Κύπρις" (*TrGF* 2. 67 F 186), καὶ "οὐπωποτε {φησὶν} (del.  
Couvreur) ἡράσθης, Γέτα;" "οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην", φησὶν.

(ΔΑΟΣ ?)

οὐπόποτ' ἡράσθης, Γέτα;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην.

Fragment 10 was tentatively assigned by Leo to the opening scene of *Heros*, shortly after v. 52. Characters named Getas, however, appear in other comedies by Menander (e.g. *Dyskolos*, *Misoumenos*, *Perinthia*), and Meineke's suggestion that this fr. might derive from *Misoumenos* (see fr. 12 there) is no less attractive.

HEROS

the man who said 'The bulk of a full maw makes passion grow',<sup>a</sup> and

(DAOS ?)

Were you never in love, Getas?

GETAS

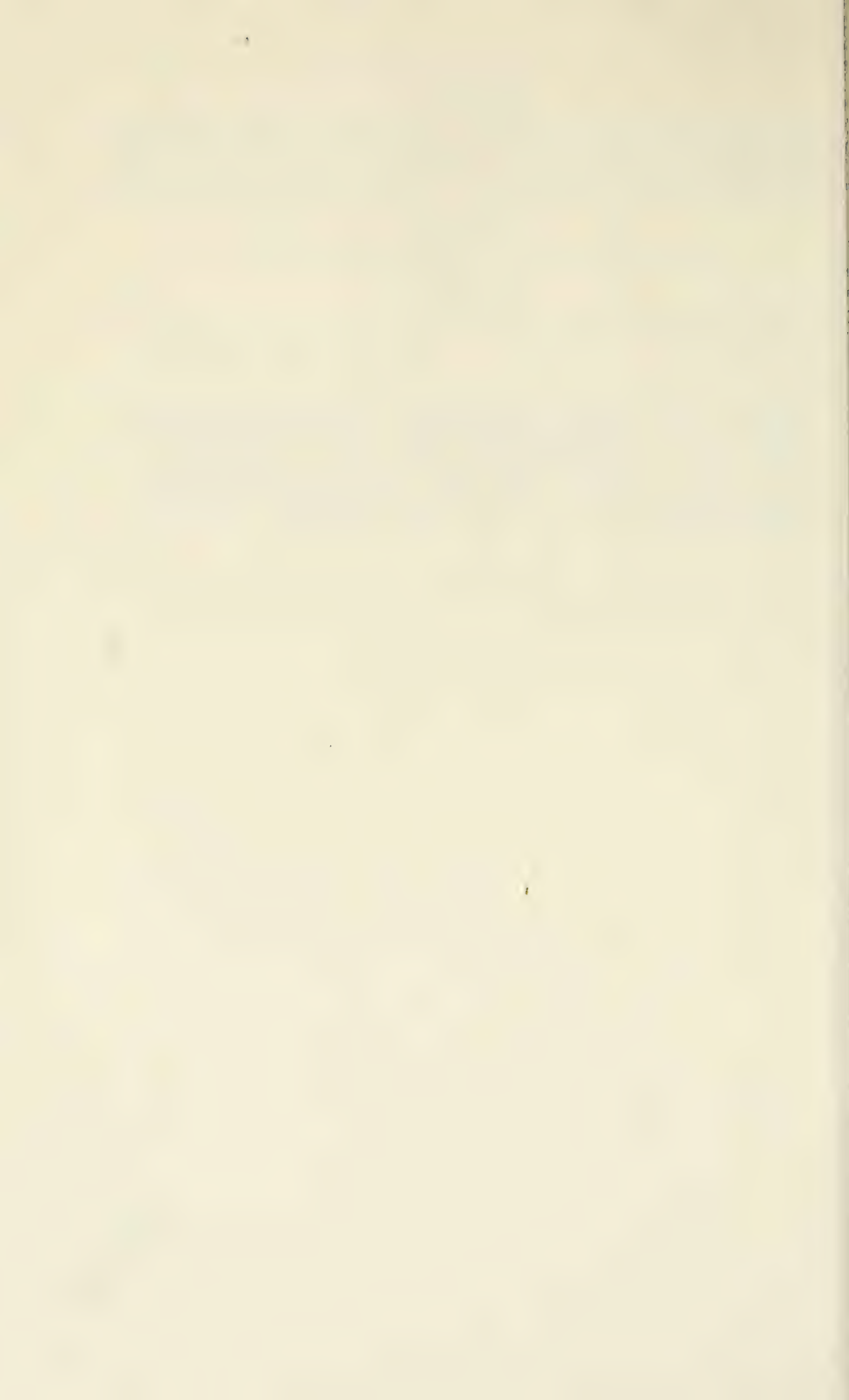
No, for I never ate my fill.

So he says.

*Hermias does not name the author of the second passage quoted, and its attribution to Heros is very uncertain. It could derive from a lost portion of the initial dialogue between Getas and Daos, or from another play (see also Misoumenos fr. 12).*

<sup>a</sup> A line from an unidentified lost tragedy or satyr play (fr. adesp. 106 Snell-Kannicht).





THEOPHOROUMENE  
(THE DEMONIAK GIRL)

## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

F = (i) *PSI 1280*, part of a papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus written in the late first, or the first half of the second, century A.D. It contains one column of text little damaged (lines 16–30) and the line-endings from the previous column (1–15). First edition: M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *Annali della r. scuola normale superiore di Pisa (Lettere, etc.)*, 4 (1935), 1–3. A photograph appears in M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV A.C. all' VIII D.C.* (Florence 1939–48), plate 9D (mislabelled as *PSI 1285*).

(ii) another papyrus in Florence, as yet unnumbered, part of a wider papyrus roll of unknown provenance dating from either the first century B.C. or the following century. It preserves the right-hand edge of one column (here lines 31–57) and indistinct traces from the beginning of the next. First edition: Vittorio Bartoletti, *Dai papiri della società italiana* (Florence 1965), 9 ff., with a photograph, but misidentified as 'hymns to Cybele'; the highly convincing argument for its attribution to the *Theophoroumene* was set out by E. W. Handley, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 16 (1969), 95–101.

Fragments 1 to 8 are quotations from a variety of sources. See the introduction to vol. I, xxiv–xxv.

## THEOPHOROUMENE

### *Pictorial Evidence*

A mosaic of the third century A.D. from the 'House of Menander' at Mytilene in Lesbos. It is inscribed ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ Μ(ΕΡΟΣ) Β (*Theophoroumene*, Act II) and portrays a scene in which three named men and a boy are involved. On the left a young man (identified as ΛΥΣΙΑΣ, Lysias), dressed in a long tunic and cloak and wearing a garland of green leaves, seems to be playing cymbals. His right foot is raised from the ground as if he is beating time with it. In the centre stands a slave (named on the mosaic ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ, Parmenon) in similar costume but ungarlanded and with a narrow scarf or stole round his neck and over his left arm. Another young man (identified as ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ, Kleinias) stands on the right, dressed and garlanded like Lysias but with a more sumptuous cloak coloured purple. In his right hand he holds a round yellow object, perhaps intended to be cymbals or a tambourine. In front of him stands an unnamed boy in a knee-length dark-green tunic, carrying in his hands what seems to be a single yellow pipe. The interpretation of this picture and its relation to the famous Dioscurides mosaic of musicians on the one hand, and to the papyrus fragments of the *Theophoroumene* on the other, are discussed below. Standard publication of the mosaic: L. Kahil and others, *Les Mosaïques*, 46 ff. and colour plate 6.

Twelve circular lead tokens found in Athens, each bearing the inscription ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΗ and a picture of three masks (free maiden; slave; young man) which rest on cylindrical altars. The free maiden was presumably the demoniac girl of the title, the slave Parmenon, and the young man either Kleinias or Lysias. These tokens

date from the middle of the third century A.D., and were presumably entrance tickets or souvenirs of a contemporary performance in the Theatre of Dionysus. First publications: I. N. Svoronos, *Journal International de l'Archéologie Numismatique* (Athens), 3 (1900), 319 ff.; M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, X: Weights and Tokens* (Princeton 1964), p. 122 (L 329 a-f) and plate 30. There are illustrations also in L. Kahil and others, *Les Mosaïques*, plate 25; and A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd edition revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1968), fig. 140 (text p. 271 and n. 6).

The identification and interpretation of the remains from Menander's *Theophoroumene*—both textual and pictorial—are linked closely together. So many problems and mysteries, however, surround this material that we are still a long way from final solutions. The views expressed here were in the main pioneered by E. W. Handley, whose work on the play (*B.I.C.S.* 16, 88–101) advances our knowledge considerably at many points.

When the fragment of papyrus roll later catalogued as *PSI* 1280 was first published in 1935, its attribution to Menander's *Theophoroumene* was probable rather than certain. The text coincided with no previously known quotations from the play, but the aorist imperative form *παράστα* ('stand beside', occurring in line 28) was cited only from Menander by ancient lexicographers (cf. *Dis Exapaton*, fr. 3), and the reference to a girl who is demoniac (*θεοφορεῖται*, 25) matched well the title *Θεοφορουμένη*, which was attested in comedy for Menander alone, although his prolific elder contemporary Alexis was the author of a *Θεοφόρητος* ('The Demoniac Man'). Qualms were at



first felt about saddling Menander with the offensive coarseness of *ἱππόπορνε* ('bloody whore', 19), but such indelicacies, in the mouths of cooks and slaves at least, are not avoided by Menander.<sup>1</sup> Probability, however, was turned into certainty by the discovery of the Mytilene mosaic, which identified the two young men named in *PSI* 1280 (Lysias, 8, 23, 29; Kleinias, a virtually certain supplement at 14) as characters appearing in a second-act scene of the *Theophoroumene*.

Welcome though this confirmation was, it still leaves many of the details of the text of *PSI* 1280 totally mysterious. The second half of its well-preserved column (lines 23b–30) is a dialogue between Lysias and another man (probably, but not certainly, Kleinias), in which Lysias takes the initiative. He suggests that an experiment should be mounted to see whether the heroine of the play's title is really possessed or only pretending. An attendant is to play an appropriate tune on the pipes (28) while Lysias and his companion stand by the doors of an inn. If the girl is really possessed she will be drawn out by the music. Kleinias welcomes the prospect of her appearance (30).

It is tempting to identify Lysias' order to the piper to begin playing as the incident captured on the Mytilene mosaic. There the piper is represented as a boy with a young pert face and bare legs.<sup>2</sup> He clasps what seems to be a single pipe in both hands, his gaze fixed on Lysias and

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Dysk.* 462 (*κινητιᾶν*), 892 (*λαϊκάσει*), *Pk.* 485 Sandbach (*λαϊκάστρια*).

<sup>2</sup> The knee-length tunic rather than the size of the figure here indicates juvenility. On the Mytilene mosaics adults may be drawn on a dwarfish scale if their dramatic roles are insignificant (see the introduction to *Epitrepontes*, vol. I, p. 382).

Parmenon. Lysias is already clashing cymbals and apparently beating time with his right foot, while Kleinias clutches to his side a small yellow cymbal or tambourine, although this object is too badly portrayed for any precise identification.

Such a linkage between the text of *PSI* 1280 and the mosaic, however, solves some problems only to pose others. Parmenon is present on the mosaic, for example, but there is no cast-iron evidence that he is present on the stage, let alone says anything, in the papyrus text. The puzzling speech that extends from before line 16 to 23a seems to report a conversation containing the coarse word discussed above, and such language in Menander normally comes from cooks or slaves, not free men.<sup>1</sup> But if Parmenon was the speaker here, on stage with Kleinias and Lysias, he must have been engineered off stage by Menander before the demoniac girl made her appearance. Menander's plays were written so that they could be performed with a cast of three actors, and the character who played Parmenon in this scene would have to double as the girl in the next, since Kleinias and Lysias appear to have been present in both scenes.

A further puzzle is set by the existence of what may be a variant version of the scene on the Mytilene mosaic. The best-known example of this version is a mosaic by Dioscurides of Samos now in the National Museum of Naples (inv. 9985; NM2 in T.B.L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, 2nd edition, *B.I.C.S. Supplement* 24, London 1969; colour photographs in e.g. Kahil

<sup>1</sup> But it is not certain that the man who used the word was a slave, any more than the person who reported his remark: see below.

and others, *Les Mosaiques*, plate 6; A. Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, Geneva 1953, p. 96), although a copy exists in a wall-painting from Stabiae (now also in the National Museum of Naples, inv. 9034; NP 54 Webster<sup>2</sup>); a series of at least eight pyxides and a *lebes gamikos* from Centuripe dating from the mid-third century B.C. seem to carry this or a closely related scene, thus confirming that the original picture from which the mosaics derive was a work of the first half of the third century (E. Simon, *Menander in Centuripe*, *Sitzungsberichte Frankfurt* 25.2, 1989, and Dioniso, 59, 1989, 45–63); and several terracotta statuettes from Myrina appear to be modelled on the two male musicians in the Dioscurides mosaic (young man with castanets, MT 15 Webster<sup>2</sup>, figured in M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 2nd edition, Princeton 1961, fig. 342; young man striking tambourine, MT 1 a–c Webster<sup>2</sup>, figured in Bieber, fig. 341, where the loss of the musical instrument from the three fragile surviving examples has sometimes led to their misidentification). The Dioscurides mosaic, made originally for a Pompeian villa in the second century B.C., is over 400 years earlier than the one in Mytilene and incomparably superior in quality. It also contains four figures, three with musical instruments, but the differences from its later counterpart are striking. The arrangement of the figures is a mirror-image reversal of that in the Mytilene mosaic, in the same way that a second Dioscurides mosaic from that same Pompeian villa reverses another Mytilene mosaic portraying the opening of Menander's *Synaristosai* (cf. Kahil and others, *Les Mosaiques*, 41 ff. and plate 5). Thus the boy in the Dioscurides mosaic of the musicians stands on the



extreme left of the group. The differences do not end there, however. The slave Parmenon is absent from Dioscurides' picture, the cymbalist moves from the left-hand side to the centre, the boy lacks his single pipe, a woman with a *hetaira* mask drawn to the same scale as her male companion stands on the left of the picture playing double pipes, while the man on the right is beating a tambourine. These changes are striking; what is their significance? The Dioscurides mosaic almost certainly portrays a scene from Greek comedy. Its figures are drawn moving about a raised stage, with a doorway behind them to the right, and its companion piece from that Pompeian villa incontrovertibly presents a scene from a Menandrian comedy. Accordingly three interpretations of the Dioscuridean musicians seem possible. They could be characters in an unidentified comedy, probably by Menander. They could belong to the *Theophoroumene*, but to a different scene where the two young men cavorted alone with a boy and a female piper. Or they could be involved in a later stage of the scene portrayed on the Mytilene mosaic, after Parmenon has departed and before the demoniac girl has entered. The last interpretation is perhaps the most attractive, but a firm decision would be premature in the present state of the evidence.

What happened next in the play? Here the second Florence papyrus, badly damaged as it is, may provide some clues. When this papyrus was first discovered, its text was first identified as hymns to Cybele, then as part of a mime; its attribution to the *Theophoroumene* cannot be considered absolutely certain so long as no exact ties with known extracts from the play emerge, but the circumstan-

## THEOPHOROUМЕНЕ

tial argument is very plausible indeed. This papyrus contains 27 line ends,<sup>1</sup> partly in the iambic metre and Attic dialect of New Comedy (31–35, 42–49, 51, 53–55, 57), and partly in dactylic hexameters written in a conventional lyric style and addressed mainly to the goddess Cybele and the Corybantes who attend her (36–41, 50?, 52, 56). If this papyrus derives from the scene in the *Theophoroumene* directly following that in PSI 1280 and the Mytilene mosaic, the possessed girl appears now to be on stage with Lysias and Kleinias, first engaging in conversation with them in the normal dialogue metre of iambic trimeters (at lines 34–35 she seems to tell her partners to assist in her ritual), and then breaking out into sung<sup>2</sup> hexameters in praise of the divinities associated with demonianism in antiquity. By this means presumably the girl sought to prove that she was possessed.

Here our papyrus breaks off, and darkness closes in. The further developments of the *Theophoroumene* are as obscure to us as are the plot's antecedents. Was the heroine of the title genuinely possessed (cf. lines 23 f.) or only pretending? Since Menander's comedies are full of shams—a fake corpse in the *Aspis*, a fake apparition in the *Phasma*, even a fake male demoniac in the *Hiereia*—the latter is the more likely situation. But if the girl was faking, what was her reason? Was it an excuse to enable her to go out of doors unchaperoned (cf. lines 21 ff.)?

<sup>1</sup> I ignore here the two puzzling mutilated lines (prose? dactyls?) inserted by the scribe in smaller letters between lines 41 and 42. These are discussed *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Sung, not declaimed. A scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache* 103 mentions in passing that a portion of the *Theophoroumene* was actually sung. Cf. the critical apparatus on lines 36–41.



This was normally impossible for respectable free girls. But if so, why did she need to go out of doors? This may be partly but mysteriously explained by her reported claim, in the difficult passage which opens the preserved column of PSI 1280, that 'they've filched my presents' (17 f.). We cannot identify the filchers, but the presents might have been tokens, recovered in the end and leading to a recognition scene. We cannot safely identify either the person who insulted her so coarsely at line 19, although her father or guardian would be the most plausible candidate. Nor do we know the relationship of Lysias and Kleinias to the girl, although Kleinias' remark (if it is Kleinias who speaks here) that the girl's appearance would be 'a splendid sight' (30) may imply that he had fallen in love with her, perhaps having originally seen her on a previous demoniac expedition. Fragment 1 introduces a further character, an old man called Kraton, who complains eloquently about the undeserved success of social inferiors. There is no evidence to support the view that he was the girl's father or alternatively related to Kleinias or Lysias, although the economy of Menandrian plots makes one of these possibilities very likely. And finally, what was the reason for having an inn as one of the stage buildings (28 f.)? Was this the scene of the incident narrated in 16 ff.? Questions abound, answers are few.

The line-numbering in this edition differs to some extent from that of Sandbach's Oxford Text (*Menandri Reliquiae Selectae*, Oxford 1972); lines 1-30 agree with those so numbered in his and other editions, but the second Florence fragment is here numbered sequentially

## THEOPHOROUMENE

31–57, with Sandbach's non-sequential numbering in brackets.

No hypothesis, didascalie notice or cast-list survives for this play. Its date of production is therefore unknown and unguessable.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

Parmenon, a slave

Kleinias, a young man, perhaps in love with the demoniac girl

Lysias, another young man<sup>1</sup>

A free girl who either is demoniac or pretends to be so

Kraton, an old man, father perhaps of one of the younger free characters

In the lost parts of the play some other characters doubtless had speaking roles, but their identities and relationships cannot be surmised. A piper appears to be involved in the action at lines 27 ff. A chorus, probably of tipsy revellers, would have performed the entr'actes.

<sup>1</sup> See also Marina Pagliardini, "Sulla *Theophoroumene* di Menandro", *Atene e Roma*, 27 (1982), 118.

## ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΤΜΕΝΗ

(The texts of the two Florence papyri appear to derive from the play's second act. First comes *PSI 1280*. Of its first column, only the line ends are preserved: ]ρετωι: 1, ]ποιει 2, ]ω λέγω 3, ] 4, ]ων 5, ].ποῶν 6, οἰ]κίαν: 7, ]. Λυσία: 8, ] 9, ]πολαβεῖν 10, ]ουν ἔχει 11, ἀλα]ζο-  
νεύεται 12, ]ραν ποτε 13, ] Κλει[ν]ία 14.)

In the apparatus to lines 1–30 of this play, those supplements whose author is not named were made in the ed. pr. by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *Annali della r. scuola normale superiore di Pisa* (*Lettere*, etc.), 4 (1935), 1 ff. 7 Suppl. Körte. 10 Either ὕ]πο- or ἀ]πολαβεῖν. 14 Suppl. Webster.

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<sup>a</sup> The suggestion offered in my translation assumes that Parmenon began a narrative to Kleinias (cf. 14) well before line 15, alleging that the demoniac girl's fits of possession were faked. Several details, however, are still very obscure. Did Parmenon see the girl in the street or elsewhere (e.g. in the inn)? Who was the man who addressed the girl so offensively in lines 18–23? What were the objects that Parmenon filled up (16 f.: if wine-

## THEOPHOROUMENE

(The Demoniac Girl)

(SCENE: Uncertain, possibly a street in Athens backed by two or three buildings. One of these is an inn; the second is probably the house where the girl of the title lives; if there was a third, its residents cannot now be identified.)

(The remains of the two Florence papyri belong in all probability to the second act. From the first one (PSI 1280) we have a fragment of a scene in which Lysias, Kleinias, and probably also the slave Parmenon take part. Only a few letters survive from the ends of this papyrus' opening fifteen lines, with indications of change of speaker at the close of lines 1, 7, and 8. A few words can be translated: do or does 2, I say 3, doing 6, house (?) 7, an address to Lysias 8 before the change of speaker, to take up or from 10, he has 11, he's or (perhaps more probably, with reference to the demoniac girl) she's a humbug 12, once 13, and an address to Kleinias 14. Continuous text begins at the end of line 15, although the interpretation of lines 15-17 is still an unsolved mystery.<sup>a</sup>)

cups, the venue may have been the inn)? And what were the presents that the girl had lost? Cf. my introductory notes on the *Theophoroumene*.

# MENANDER

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ (?)

15

] ἐξηπ[ί]στατο.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

τάχ' [ἂν] καταστάξαντες; οἶδ'.

ΠΑΡΜΕΝΩΝ (?)

ἀπ' ὀμμ[άτων

ἔπλησα. "τὰ μὰ δῶρ' ἀκούεις;" ἡ κόρη,

"τὰ δῶρα," φησί, "τὰ μὰ μ' ἐξείλονθ'." ὁ δέ,

20

"τί [δ'] ἔλαβες, ἰππόπο[ρ]νε; τὸν δὲ δόν[τα σοι

πόθεν οἶσθα τοῦτον; τί δέ; νεανίσκο[ν κόρη;

ἢ σὺν τί λαβοῦσα στέφανον ἔξω περιπατ[εῖς;

μαίνει; τί οὖν οὐκ ἔνδον ἐγκεκλειμ[ένη

μαίνει;"

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

φλυαρεῖς. [τ]οὔτό γ' αὐτό, Λυσία,

οὐ προσποεῖται.

ΛΤΣΙΑΣ

πεῖραν ἔξεστιν λα[βεῖν·

25

εἰ θεοφορεῖται ταῖς ἀληθείαισι γάρ,

15-16 Supplementation and interpretation here are hazardous in the extreme, and the printed text is merely a shot in the dark.

15 ἐξηπ[ί]στατο Arnott: ]ἐξιπ[.]στατο[ F, apparently.

16 τάχ' —οἶδ' assigned to Kleinias by Arnott (F has no dicolon



# THEOPHOROUMENE

PARMENON (?)

(*in mid-speech*)

]she really knew [her part].

15

KLEINIAS (?)

(*commenting on the demoniac girl's appearance?*)

Tears flooding down, perhaps (?). I know.

PARMENON (?)

(*continuing his narrative*)

I filled

Them unobserved. "My presents—do you hear? —  
They've filched my presents," said the girl. "What gifts,  
You bloody whore?" said he. "How do you know  
The man who gave them? What! A lad, [and to]  
[A girl]! Why are you out of doors here, with  
That garland? Are you mad? Why not be mad  
Locked up indoors?"

20

KLEINIAS (?)

That's nonsense.—Lysias,  
This thing—she's *not* pretending!

LYSIAS

We can test

Her. If she's really a demoniac,

25

---

after *οιδ*, but a one-letter space between *οι* and *δ* may be a misplaced indication of change of speaker). *αν* suppl. Arnott.

20 *κόρη* tentatively suppl. Handley. 22–23 *τί οὖν*—*μαίνει* (23) continued to the same speaker (Parmenon?) by Handley (22 *μαίνει:τιονν* F).

# MENANDER

νῦν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκπηδή[σεται.  
μητρὸς θεῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ κορυβάντ[ων σύ μοι  
αὔλει. παράστα δ' ἐνθαδὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας  
τοῦ πανδοκείου.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

νῆ Δί', εὖ γε, Λυσία,  
30 ὑπέρευγε· τοῦτο βούλομαι. καλὴ θέα . . .

(Here PSI 1280 breaks off. If the second, as yet unnumbered, Florence papyrus is rightly attributed to the *Theophoroumene*, as seems most likely, its text must follow at a short interval—probably fewer than 20 lines—after the close of PSI 1280. When this second papyrus fragment opens, the demoniac girl is in mid-speech.)

ΚΟΡΗ

31	]	καὶ τὸ χρυσίον
	]	θάλατταν ἐκχέον
(3 Sa)	]	το προσφιλὲς
	τοῖ]	ς παροῦσι δ' ἅμα λέγω
35	πά]	ντες ἐπολολύξατε.

26 Suppl. Maas. 27 Suppl. Handley *exempli gratia*.

30 ὑπέρευγε Norsa, Vitelli: *υπερευ* F. 31–57 The papyrus fragment containing these lines was assigned to this character, scene and play by Handley. 34–35 Suppl. Pavese.

<sup>a</sup> The 'Gods' Great Mother' is Cybele, a Phrygian goddess whose cult was established in Athens already by the fifth century B.C. The Corybantes were demons from Asia Minor associated with her worship, and votaries of the religion went into orgiastic trances which were popularly identified as possession by the Corybantes. These trances, which were induced by the rhythmi-

# THEOPHOROU MENE

[She'll] now skip out in front here. (*To the piper*) Pipe  
a 'Gods'

Great Mother'—no, a Corybantic tune.<sup>a</sup>

(*To Kleinias*) You stand beside me here, just by the  
door

Of the hotel.

(*The piper plays his tune, while Kleinias retires with  
Lysias into the background by the side of the inn's  
double doors.*)

KLEINIAS (?)

Fine, Lysias—superb,

I swear! Just what I want! A splendid sight . . .

30

(*At this point PSI 1280 breaks off. If the second Florence  
papyrus is rightly assigned to the Theophoroumene, its 27  
line-endings must come shortly—probably within 20  
lines—after the close of PSI 1280. Parmenon has now  
been engineered off the stage, and the girl has entered,  
doubtless in response to the wild pipe music that Lysias  
has organised for her benefit.*)

THE GIRL (?)

(*speaking ecstatically*)

] and the gold

31

] debouching [in the] sea

] agreeable

] I bid those present too

] you must all raise your voices!

35

cal beating of cymbals and drums, wild pipe music and furious  
dancing, were characterised by palpitations and violent weeping  
(cf. lines 15 f., if my interpretation there holds water). See espe-  
cially E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and  
Los Angeles 1951), 77–80.

(Here the girl begins to sing in lyric dactylic hexameters.)

- (7) ] βασίλεια μεγίστα,  
 ] μοι καὶ σεισικάρηνοι  
 κ]ορύβαντές θ' ἄδνπρόσωποι.  
 θυ]σίαν κλειτάν θ' ἑκατόμβαν  
 40 ] θεά, Φρυγία βασίλεια  
 ] α τύμπανα, μᾶτερ ὁ[ρεία.

(The next eight lines revert to the metre and dialect of normal comic dialogue. It is perhaps most likely that the girl continues, but now in a normal speaking voice. But an intervention by Lysias or Kleinias, or even dialogue involving two or three characters, cannot be ruled out.)

- (12) ]θορυβοῦντες οὔτε [  
 ]ους σαντῶ πόε[ι  
 κ]ατὰ χάραν λαβὲ  
 45 ]ον ἐπιτίθει τε πῦ[ρ  
 τήν θ]εὸν γὰρ βούλομαι

36–41, 50, 52, 56 A scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache* 103 refers to τὰ ἐν Θεοφορουμένῃ ἀδόμνα. 38–39 Suppl. Bartoletti. 39 The papyrus offers κλειναν as a variant reading. 41 Suppl. Bartoletti. 41–42 Between these lines is written in smaller letters ] στέφαν(ον) ἐχέτω (or ἔχε τῶ) [.] .λακιτω [ / ] παρὰ χεῖρα θα.λει[.]. Are these remains of a prose stage-direction, or of dactylic hexameters? 43–44 Suppl. Bartoletti. 45 Suppl. Handley, Lloyd-Jones. 46 Suppl. Handley.

# THEOPHOROUMENE

*(It is hard to make coherent sense of the above remarks. The girl may have entered the stage not long before line 31, and then launched into a poetical description of Phrygia, the home of Cybele, and the gold-bearing river Pactolus which flows not far to the south of Phrygia. At 34 the girl evidently turns to Lysias and Kleinias, and asks them to join in her act of worship. From 36 to 41 she sings a hymn to Cybele, the 'goddess, queen of Phrygia.')*

] queen almighty  
 ] and with heads atremble  
 ] and sweet-faced Corybantes  
 ] sacrifice and hecatomb of splendour  
 ] goddess, queen of Phrygia, 40  
 ] tambourines, O [mountain] mother.<sup>a</sup>

*(The words of the above hymn are clearly a series of invocations to Cybele and the Corybantes, with accessory references to the sacrifices and the tambourines associated with this goddess's worship. Then follow eight lines in the metre and dialect of normal comic dialogue.)*

] clamouring nor [  
 ] make for yourself  
 ] in place pick up  
 ] and ignite 45  
 ] for I'd like [the] god[dess]

<sup>a</sup> Between lines 41 and 42 the scribe inserts in smaller letters two lines of Greek, now badly mutilated, which may be partially translated '[ ] take (or let her/him take) a garland [ ] / [ ] to her/his hand [ ].' This may be a stage direction, referring to the girl's actions before she begins her song, or alternatively (but perhaps less probably) two dactylic hexameters which the scribe had inadvertently omitted at the beginning of the girl's song.



## MENANDER

(17) ] γες. αὖλει δὴ σύ μοι.  
εὖμ] ενῆς γίνοιο δὲ  
] μένοις αἰεί.

(The final eight lines mix lyric hexameters (50 ?, 52, 56) with iambs (51, 53–55, 57). The girl doubtless sings the hexameters, but the speaker or speakers of the iambs cannot certainly be identified. Perhaps the girl is again the likeliest candidate.)

50 χ]αῖρ', ὙΑγγδιστι,  
 (22) μ]ετὰ κυμβάλων  
 ]·ρ ὀλολυγμῶν  
 ] μῆτερ θεῶν,  
 ὙΑγγδ]ιστι Φρυγία Κρησία  
 55 δ]εῦρο κυρία  
 (26) ]ναπας βασιλεια  
 57 ]α Λυδίους

(At this point the papyrus breaks off.)

\* \* \*

48 Suppl. Handley. 50–51, 54–55 Suppl. Bartoletti.

<sup>a</sup> Angdistis or Agdistis was an Asiatic goddess often identified with Cybele. She derives her name from Mount Agdos near the ancient city of Pessinus in Phrygia.

<sup>b</sup> Rhea, the Cretan mother goddess, was also identified with Cybele. Cf. fr. 8 below.

# THEOPHOROUMENE

] You pipe for me  
 ] may you favour (?) me  
 ] always so remain (?).

*(The speaker or speakers of lines 42 to 49 cannot be established with any certainty. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that the girl here interrupts her hymn in order to address the bystanders. First she asks Lysias or Kleinias to pick something up—possibly a torch—and to ignite something else—possibly incense on an altar—in furtherance of her act of worship. Then, as she prepares to resume her hymn, she tells the piper to begin piping again, and she subjoins a prayer, probably to Cybele.)*

*The final eight lines of the papyrus, 50 to 57, are a mixture of sung hymn lines (50?, 52, 56) and spoken comic iambics (51, 53–55, 57). The girl almost certainly sings the former, but it is impossible now to be sure who speaks or speak the interlarded iambics. The girl may again be the likeliest candidate.)*

] O hail, Angdistis! <sup>a</sup>	50
] with tambourines.	
] joyful shouting.	
] O mother of the gods,	
Angd]istis, Phrygian, Cretan too <sup>b</sup> —	
] here supreme.	55
] queen [in] tree-clad valleys.	
] Lydian <sup>c</sup>	

\* \* \*

<sup>c</sup> Lydia, in western Asia Minor, was closely associated with the cult of Cybele.

## MENANDER

### *Eight fragments quoted from Θεοφορουμένη by ancient authors*

1 (1 Körte, 223 Kock)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 42. 3 (περὶ τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχούντων) cites the whole fragment with the heading Μενάνδρου Θεοφορουμένης (so ms. S: -μένον mss. MA). Line 2 was fitted into a witticism by Vespasian according to Suetonius, *Vesp.* 23, who does not identify the source. Lines 16–17 are cited with the author's name alone by the scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus* 426. The first six words of line 16 are quoted also by Athenaeus 6. 248d, inaccurately but with an ascription to Menander. Lines 18–19 are cited by Plutarch, *Moralia* 739f (*Quaest. Conv.* 9. 5) simply as τὰ τοῦ κωμικοῦ γέροντος.

#### ΚΡΑΤΩΝ

- εἴ τις προσελθὼν μοι θεῶν λέγοι, "Κράτων,  
ἐπὰν ἀποθάνῃς, αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσει·  
ἔσει δ' ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ, κύων, πρόβατον, τράγος,  
ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος. δις βιώναι γάρ σε δεῖ·  
5 εἰμαρμένον τοῦτ' ἐστίν· ὅ τι βούλει δ' ἐλοῦ·"  
"ἅπαντα μᾶλλον," εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν ἂν δοκῶ,  
"πόει με πλὴν ἄνθρωπον· ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖ  
κακῶς τε πάττει τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον μόνον.  
ὁ κράτιστος ἵππος ἐπιμελεστέραν ἔχει  
10 ἐτέρου θεραπείαν. ἀγαθὸς ἂν γένῃ κύων,  
ἐντιμότερος εἶ τοῦ κακοῦ κυνὸς πολὺ.  
ἀλεκτρύων γενναῖος ἐν ἐτέρα τροφῇ  
ἐστίν, ὃ δ' ἀγεννὴς καὶ δέδιε τὸν κρείττονα.  
ἄνθρωπος ἂν δ' ἢ χρηστός, εὐγενής, σφόδρα  
15 γενναῖος, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐν τῷ νῦν γένει.

## THEOPHOROUMENE

*Eight fragments of Theophoroumene, quoted  
by ancient authors*

### 1

Stobaeus ('On those prospering undeservedly') cites the whole fragment with the heading 'from Menander's *Theophoroumene*'. Several parts of it are quoted independently by a variety of authors, who fail to identify the source precisely (see the facing page); among these Plutarch identifies the speaker as 'the old man of comedy'.

### KRATON

Suppose a god walked up to me and said,  
 "Kraton, you'll come back after death once more,  
 And be just what you want—a dog, sheep, goat,  
 Man, horse. You've got to live two lives, it's all  
 A law of destiny. Pick what you want." 5  
 I think I'd give a speedy answer: "Make  
 Me anything—but *not* a man! This creature's  
 The only one to thrive or fail unfairly.  
 A champion horse is groomed more tenderly  
 Than others. If you're born a pedigree 10  
 Dog, then your status is much higher than  
 A mongrel's. Pure-bred cocks get special food,  
 And there the riff-raff also fear their betters!  
 With men, though, great distinction, honour and  
 Good birth are useless in our present age. 15

---

1 Κράτων Gesner: κρατῶν mss. (SMA) of Stobaeus. 4 δις  
 βιώναι MA: διαβιώναι S. 5 ἐλοῦ SM: αἰροῦ καὶ ἐλοῦ A.  
 13 ὁ δ' S: οὐδ' MA. 14 ἄν δ' Meineke: εἰάν SMA (εἰάν ἡ  
 ἄνθρ. χρ. A). 15 ὄφελος ἐν SA: ὠφέλησεν M.

## MENANDER

- 19 πρᾶττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα  
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει.  
ὄνον γενέσθαι κρείττον ἢ τοὺς χείρονας  
ὁρᾶν ἑαυτοῦ ζῶντας ἐπιφανέστερον."

16 πρᾶττει γὰρ πάντων ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα ms. A of Athenaeus.  
16–17 δεύτερος mss. NAB of Euripides scholiast (for δεύτερα ὁ,  
correct in Stobaeus). 17 τρίτα λέγει mss. of Stobaeus: τρία  
λέγει ms. N and τρίτατος λέγεται ms. A of Euripides scholiast.

## 2 (2 Kō, 225 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 3. 6 (περὶ φρονήσεως), with the head-  
ing Μενάνδρου Θεοφορουμένη·

ὁ πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχων  
μάντις τ' ἄριστός ἐστι σύμβουλος θ' ἅμα.



## THEOPHOROUMENE

Yes-men do best of all, blackmailers win  
The second prize, and spitefulness comes third.  
Better be born an ass than see the dregs  
Live in a brighter limelight than oneself!"

*In this play the role of the speaker Kraton, identified by Plutarch (see above) as an old man, is now obscure, although he is likely to have been the father of one of the three known young people (Lysias, Kleinias, the demoniac girl) in the plot. Equally obscure is the incident which gave rise to Kraton's splenetic outburst about the undeserved success of social inferiors.*

### 2

Stobaeus ('On prudence'): from Menander's *Theophoroumene*,

The man with most discernment  
Makes the best prophet and adviser too.

*These words paraphrase a line of Euripides (Helen 757) spoken by a long-winded old retainer of Menelaos. Context and speaker in Menander's play are hard to divine, but some help appears to be given here by Alciphron, who composed a series of fictitious letters much influenced by the situations of New Comedy. In one of these (4. 19. 21) Alciphron pretends that 'Glykera' is writing to 'Menander', and the writer refers obliquely to prophecies made by 'your demoniac girl'. Thus the speaker of the present fragment may be speaking disdainfully of a prophecy made by the play's heroine in her demoniac state.*

## MENANDER

### 3 (3 Kō, 224 K)

Athenaeus 11. 504a (ὁ Πλούταρχος) ἔδωκε (τὴν φιάλην) τῷ παιδί περισοβεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ κελεύσας, τὸ κύκλῳ πίνειν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγων, παρατιθέμενος Μενάνδρου ἐκ Περινθίας (fr. 4) . . . καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θεοφορουμένης·

καὶ ταχὺ τὸ πρῶτον περισοβεῖ ποτήριον  
αὐτοῖς ἀκράτου.

1 Corr. Cobet: ταχὺ πάλι τὸ ms. A.

### 4 (4 Kō, 226 K)

Athenaeus 11. 472b: θηλυκῶς δὲ τὴν θηρίκλειον εἶπε Μένανδρος ἐν Θεοφορουμένη·

μέσῳ μεθύων <τὴν> θηρίκλειον ἔσπασεν.

τὴν om. ms. A, suppl. Schweighaeuser.

### 5 (5 Kō, 227 K)

A scholiast on Plato, *Clitopho* 407a(2) (p. 187 Greene):  
παροιμία·

ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεὸς ἐπεφάνης.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἢ σωτηρίᾳ φαινομένων· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς τραγωδίαις ἐξ ἀφανοῦς θεοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς

<sup>a</sup> On this character (Plutarch of Alexandria, not the essayist from Chaeronea) see Barry Baldwin, *Acta Classica* 20 (1977), 47.

<sup>b</sup> Thericles was a celebrated Corinthian potter around 400 B.C. who produced black high-lustre ware which became very popular in Athens during the following century. Not long after

## THEOPHOROUMENE

### 3

Athenaeus: Plutarch<sup>a</sup> gave (the cup) to the slave with an order 'to whizz it around', explaining that this meant 'drinking (from one beaker passed) around the whole circle', producing as evidence a passage from Menander's *Perinthia* (fr. 4) . . . and further from *Theophoroumene*,

He whisks around them quickly the first cup  
Of undiluted wine.

*A description of a drinking party which may perhaps have taken place in the inn mentioned at line 29 of the papyrus fragments. Undiluted wine was normally drunk only in toasts.*

### 4

Athenaeus: Menander in *Theophoroumene* used the word *θηρίκλειος* (Thericlean cup<sup>b</sup>) as a feminine,

Half drunk, he drained the Thericlean dry!

*This may, but does not necessarily, come from the same context as fr. 3.*

### 5

A scholiast on Plato's *Clitopho*: a saying,

You've turned up like a god upon a crane!

Applied to those turning up unexpectedly to help or rescue, since in tragedies gods would appear on stage from some-

the potter's death the term 'Thericlean cup' was also applied to cups of a distinctive shape, with concave sides and small handles, not necessarily made by Thericles himself. See my *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary* (Cambridge 1996/1997), on fr. 5.

## MENANDER

σκηνῆς ἐφαίνοντο. Μένανδρος Θεοφορουμένη.

6 (6 Kö, 228 K)

A scholiast on Plato, *Phaedo* 99c (p. 14 Greene):  
παροιμία·

δεύτερος πλοῦς.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσφαλῶς τι πραττόντων, παρ' ὅσον οἱ διαμαρτόν-  
τες κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πλοῦν ἀσφαλῶς παρασκευάζονται  
τὸν δεύτερον. ἐμνήσθη δὲ ταύτης . . . Μένανδρος . . .  
Θεοφορουμένη.

7 (7 Kö)

Photius (α 1592 Theodoridis) s.v. ἀναπετῶ· ἀναπετάσω.  
Μένανδρος Θεοφορουμένη.

8 (8 Kö)

The *Etymologicum Magnum* (388.36): εὐάντητος· ἡ ῥέα.  
ἀνταίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν διὰ τὸ δυσάντητον εἶναι καὶ  
τοῖς ἀναντῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι δυσχεραίνειν· τὸ Νικαδίου  
ὑπόνημα Θεοφορουμένης, κατ' εὐφημισμὸν· δυσάντης γάρ  
ἐστι καὶ ὀργίλη τοῖς ἀντάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι· τὸ Ῥατίου.

Ῥατίου ms.: < Ἀμ > αῤτίου conj. Sylburg.

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<sup>a</sup> In several Greek tragedies, especially those of Euripides, a final resolution of a dramatic impasse is provided by the sudden intervention of a deity making his or her appearance suspended from a crane: the *deus ex machina*.

## THEOPHOROUMENE

where out of sight.<sup>a</sup> Menander in *Theophoroumene*.

### 6

A scholiast on Plato's *Phaedo*: a saying,

Next best way.<sup>b</sup>

Applied to people accomplishing an object securely, insofar as those who have come a cropper in an earlier voyage achieve the second one without fail. This saying was mentioned by . . . Menander in . . . *Theophoroumene*.

### 7

Photius has an entry stating that Menander in *Theophoroumene* used ἀναπετῶ in place of the regular Attic form ἀναπετάσω as the future tense of ἀναπετάννυμι (I open/unfold/spread out).

### 8

The *Etymologicum Magnum* has the following curious and probably garbled entry: εὐάντητος (well met), sc. the goddess Rhea. They called her 'meetable' because she was a bad person to meet, and made trouble for those who encountered her on the mountains. So Nicadius' *Commentary on Theophoroumene*. A palliative use, for she is bad to meet and angry with those who come upon her on the mountains. So Artius' *Commentary*. It also means 'responsive to supplica-

<sup>b</sup> Literally 'second voyage'. Menander elsewhere (fr. 205 KT) explains this saying much more imaginatively than the scholiast: 'The next best way—this saying clearly means / That if you've lost fair winds, you use your oars.'



## MENANDER

σημαίνει δὲ τὸν εὐϊκέτευτον· ἄντεσθαι γὰρ τὸ ἱκετεύσαι.

*One further fragment, whose attribution to  
Θεοφορουμένη is very uncertain*

9 (9 Sandbach in second edition of Oxford Text)

The *Etymologicum Magnum* (782.8): ὑπογράφω· καταβάλλομαι, σκιαγραφῶ, βεβαιῶ· τὸ Ἄμαρτίου ὑπομνημα.

Sandbach's attribution of this fragment to *Theophoroumene* is extremely speculative. It rests on two assumptions: (1) that the references to Ἄρτίου in fr. 8 and Ἄμαρτίου here are in one of the two places a corruption of the other (hence Sylburg conjectured <Ἄμ>αρτίου in fr. 8); and (2) that the other author, whether called Artius or Hamartius, wrote no other commentary than that on the *Theophoroumene*.

tion', for 'to supplicate' is the same as ἀντεσθαι (to meet/to supplicate).<sup>a</sup>

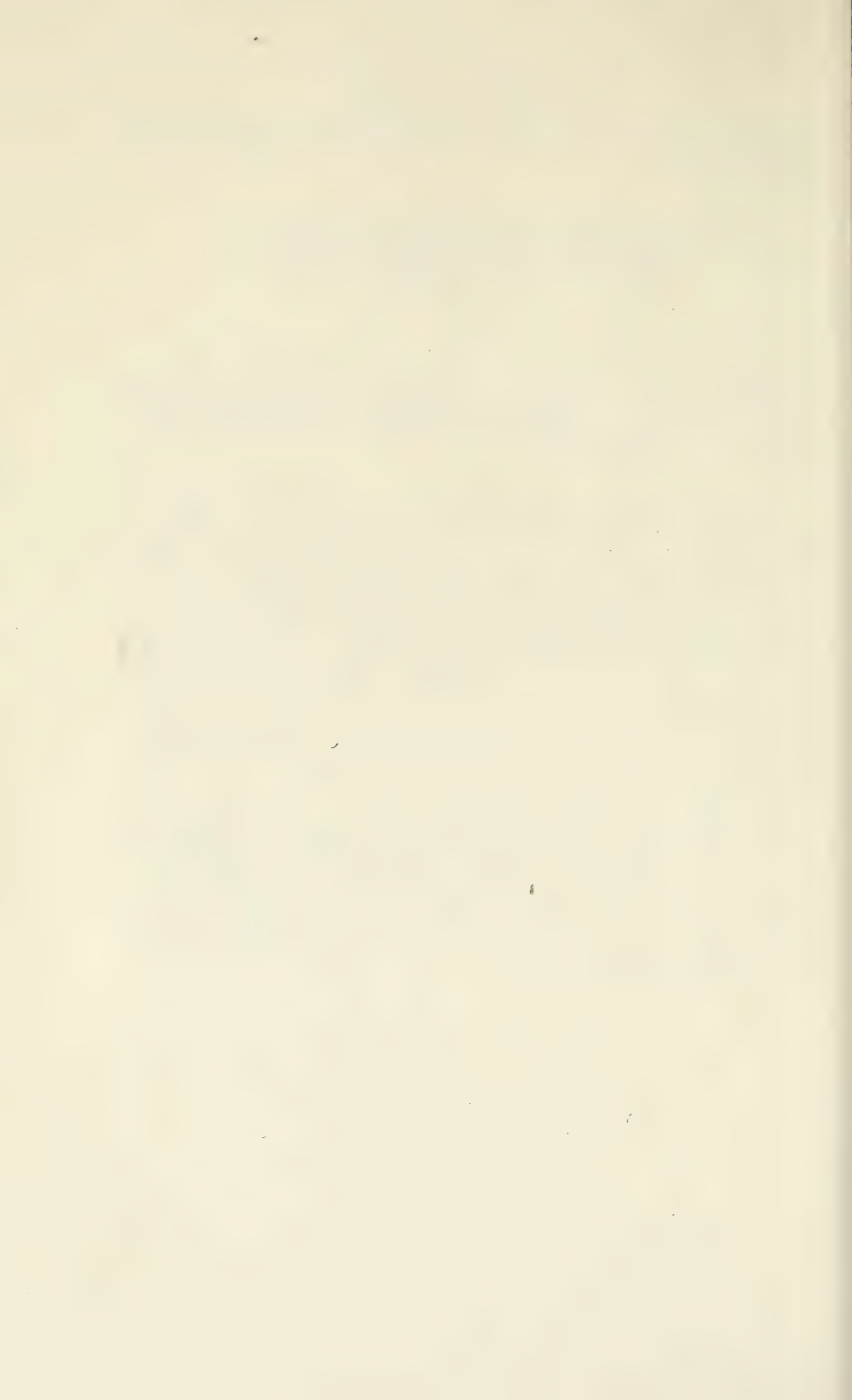
*One further fragment, whose attribution to  
Theophoroumene is very uncertain*

## 9

The *Etymologicum Magnum* defining the verb ὑπογράφω: I commit to writing, I draw in perspective, I confirm/pledge. Hamartius' commentary.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nothing is known about Artius (if this name is correctly transmitted: see opposite on fr. 9) or Nicadius, but the latter apparently wrote a commentary on *Theophoroumene*, presumably Menander's play. If the entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum* derives ultimately from Nicadius, it seems legitimate to infer that Menander applied the adjective εὐάντητος to Rhea, the great mother goddess of Crete, who was often identified with Cybele (see my note on line 54 of the papyrus fragments of *Theophoroumene*), probably in a lost part of the hymn sung by the demoniac girl to Cybele and the Corybantes.

<sup>b</sup> If this entry ultimately derives from a commentary on Menander's *Theophoroumene* (but see opposite), it implies that the word ὑπογράφω was used in this play in one of the three listed meanings. The second is perhaps the most likely, for the verb appears to be used in the sense 'I make an outline sketch' first in the fourth century B.C.



KARCHEDONIOS  
(THE MAN FROM CARTHAGE)





## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

O = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2654, six fragments which come from three successive columns of a papyrus roll written in the first century A.D., with extremely mutilated remains of 60 or so lines of text. First edition: E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 1–8, with a photograph (pl. I).

Three other papyrus fragments have been tentatively assigned to the *Karchedonios*. Two of them are:

(i) *P. Oxyrhynchus* 866, here also designated as O, a tiny scrap of papyrus from the first century A.D., written in a hand which shows some (but not perhaps very close) similarity to one of the major hands deciphered in *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2654. It contains the middle portions of seven lines of text, in which the word K]αρχηδονιο[ ('Carthaginian', v. 5) appears. First edition: B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 6 (1908), 173–175, where the scrap was assumed to be a fragment of prose. Its attribution to *Karchedonios* was suggested by E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 7 f., republishing it with a photograph (pl. I).

(ii) *P. Cologne* 4 (often referred to by its inventory number 5031), a small fragment written in the same two

hands as the textual portions of *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2654 and therefore very probably deriving from the same roll of papyrus, possibly from the same play; identification of the author as Menander is to some extent supported by the presence of Ἰκόνιον in 129, attested for this playwright by the *Etymologicum Magnum* 470.45. *P. Cologne* 4 contains the ends of the last nine lines in one column and the beginnings of the last eight lines in the next. First edition: Ludwig Koenen, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 4 (1969), 171 f., with a photograph (pl. IX) but no identification; its attribution to *Karchedonios* was made by the same scholar in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 5 (1970), 60. It was re-edited by Bärbel Kramer, *Kölner Papyri* 1 (1976), 21–23.

Both of these fragments are published here. The third, *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3966, is not. In publishing this scrap of papyrus from the first century A.D. containing 15 partly damaged lines of New Comedy, E. W. Handley (*Relire Ménandre*, Genève 1990, 138–143, cf. 162–166, and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 59, 1992, 51–59) noted the close similarity of its handwriting to that of *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2654 and *P. Cologne* 5031, and consequently suggested that *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3966 might also come from Menander's *Karchedonios*. At the same time he noted that the subject-matter of 3966—the ritual of bringing water for a nuptial bath from a spring, in a procession involving water-carrier, piper and singer—had no known links with what little is known of the plot of Menander's *Karchedonios*, but did agree at several points with that of the same dramatist's *Phasma*, where a wedding was a prominent motif, a girl was locked up in the house just like a girl

mentioned in 3966 v. 13 (or 12, if one discounts any line-numbering for the sign X]OP[OT after v. 4 indicating a choral entr'acte), and the lyrics that allegedly occurred in *Phasma* could have included the resolved anapaests or proceleusmatics of 3966 v. 12 (11). Hence *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3966 is better not connected with Menander's *Karchedonios*, but assigned rather to *Phasma* or to some other play with which links can be discerned (Thomas Gelzer, *Relire Ménandre*, 165 f., makes a case for *Georgos*).

Fragments 1 to 7 are quotations from a variety of sources; 1 to 6 are certainly, but 7 only tentatively, assigned to this play. See the introduction to vol. I, pp. xxiv–xxv.

The fragments preserved in *P.Oxy.* 2654 are severely mutilated, and only one passage of continuously coherent text, a mere nine lines in length (31–39), emerges amid the medley of line-endings, line-beginnings, and line-middles that constitute the remainder of this papyrus. Nevertheless, these remains are important for several reasons. Firstly, they are positively identified as part of Menander's *Karchedonios* because lines 7–8 coincide with an ancient quotation from this play (fr. 228 Körte-Thierfelder) made by Stobaeus. Secondly, they afford substantial support to the argument that Plautus' *Poenulus* was not adapted from Menander's *Karchedonios*, as many had believed, but from another Greek comedy, almost certainly the *Karchedonios* written by Menander's older contemporary, Alexis. Even before the publication of the new Oxyrhynchus fragments, the ties between two fragments of Alexis (105 and 265 Kassel–Austin, the former definitely assigned to Alexis'

*Karchedonios*) and two passages in Plautus' play (1318, 522–525), where Alexis' words appear in Roman translation, made the theory that here Plautus was adapting Alexis and not Menander plausible enough, especially since no similar ties could convincingly be shown to exist between the ancient quotations from Menander's *Karchedonios* and the Plautine text. In the new papyrus fragments from Menander's play the scene seems to be Athens, the Carthaginian is in pursuit of a girl who claims to be a free Athenian (38 f.), and the Carthaginian himself talks about being registered as a member of an Attic deme (39). Plautus' *Poenulus*, on the other hand, is set in the Aetolian city of Calydon, and the Carthaginian of the title is an old man searching for his lost Carthaginian daughters now living in the house of a pimp who had bought them from their kidnapper. The situations in the two plays seem to be quite different.<sup>1</sup>

Two further points of interest emerge from the dramatic situation which the fragments reveal. Three<sup>2</sup> characters can be identified. One is a slave (lines 10, 35), the second possibly a young and free Athenian, and the third apparently Menander's man from Carthage. The Carthaginian appears to be on stage when the text of *P.Oxy.* 2654 begins, and he retires into the background

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of the problems relating to the determination of Plautus' Greek model (or models), see now the introduction to *Karchedonios* in my commentary on Alexis (Cambridge 1996/1997), with full bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> The interpretation suggested here differs in several particulars from that advanced by E. G. Turner (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 36, 1968, 2–3 and 8) and F. H. Sandbach (both the Oxford Text and the 1973 *Commentary*). See Dario Del Corno, *Gnomon*, 42 (1970), 252.



on hearing a door open (4). The slave and the young man now enter, discussing the difficulties caused by an unspecified person's folly (6–8). After unintelligible references to a brother, a father and guardians (16–18), the slave questions the Carthaginian about his identity in a way designed to recall or parody the identification procedures followed when an Athenian citizen was being registered in his deme (30 ff.: see (?) Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 42. 1). The third point of interest is a legal one. The Carthaginian seemingly hopes to be registered in an Attic deme and intends to 'take' (in marriage?) a free Athenian girl (37–39). Only men of free Athenian parentage on both sides, however, were legally permitted in Menander's day to be registered in an Attic deme<sup>1</sup> or to marry a free Athenian girl. Yet Menander's Carthaginian evidently believed himself to be of non-Athenian ancestry, at least on his mother's side (35–37). Unfortunately the papyrus breaks off before we can learn how this difficulty was resolved.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth and final point of interest also relates to the Carthaginian's description of his ancestry. He names his maternal grandfather as 'Hamilcar the general' (35). Fiction is not real life, but it appears likely that Menander chose this impressive ancestry for his hero in order to add a touch of verisimilitude to his plot. In real life a Hamil-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: Procedure* (Oxford 1971), 205 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The young man from Carthage could, for example, have really been a free-born Athenian kidnapped as an infant, transported to Carthage, and brought up there by an aristocratic Carthaginian family in the belief that he was a native Carthaginian.



car had been a Carthaginian general at the battle of the River Crimisus in Sicily, where either in 343 B.C. or (more probably) 339 he was defeated by Timoleon, the Corinthian liberator of Greek Sicily. A second Hamilcar led an army in Sicily in 319 and acted as mediator in the strife between Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, and some other Greek cities in 313, dying shortly afterwards in Carthage. A third Hamilcar was his successor as general in Sicily, landing there in 311 but being captured and executed by the Syracusans in 309. No didascalic notice survives for Menander's *Karchedonios*, and the play cannot be firmly dated, but it seems plausible enough that when Menander's hero, probably a young man, claimed to be Hamilcar's grandson, the playwright intended his audience to link this name with that of one of the Carthaginian generals (the second or third in the above list, most probably) whose successes and failures in Sicily had doubtless become topics of conversation in Athenian barbers' shops in the last twenty years of the fourth century.

Two other papyrus scraps are tentatively attributed to the *Karchedonios*, as noted above. One, a previously published shred from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 866), is too tiny, mutilated and uninformative for the validity of the attribution to be a matter of much moment. The other scrap (*P. Cologne* 4) is equally mutilated but far more interesting. Written apparently in the same two hands as the text on *P.Oxy.* 2654, its source as a fragment from the same roll is hardly open to question; but did *P.Oxy.* 2654 originally comprise one or more plays? If *P. Cologne* 4 does derive from Menander's *Karchedonios*, it probably adds to the cast-list a soldier whose equipment is itemised

at line 109. At line 130 a slave Daos is addressed; was this perhaps the name of the slave who has a part in the fragments of *P.Oxy.* 2654?

The line-numbering in this edition coincides with that of Turner's original publication and of Sandbach's Oxford Text (*Menandri Reliquiae Selectae*, Oxford 1972<sup>1</sup>, 1990<sup>2</sup>) for the text of *P.Oxy.* 2654; the few lines of *P.Oxy.* 866 are numbered here for convenience 81–87, and those of *P. Cologne* 4 (inv. 5031) 101–109 and 122–130.

No hypothesis or cast-list is preserved for this play.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

The Carthaginian, a young man believing himself to be of

Carthaginian ancestry but perhaps of Athenian birth

A slave

A man who enters with this slave, probably free and Athenian, possibly young

Possibly a soldier

Possibly a parasite or slave, attendant on the soldier

Possibly Daos, a third slave, unless this character is to be identified with one (or even both) of the other slaves listed above

In the lost part of the play other characters may have had speaking parts, including perhaps the brother and the father of the man who enters with the slave. One of the free characters in the play may have had a name beginning Ap- or At- (Apollodoros?). A chorus, perhaps of tipsy revellers, would have performed the entr'actes.

## ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ

(We cannot tell to which act of the play the mutilated fragments of *P.Oxy.* 2654 belong. From the first of its three columns, containing lines 1–23, only the right-hand side is preserved. Nothing remains from 1–3 apart from ]πατρὸς 2, ]ν πάλιν 3. Then come seven lines of more coherent text, which apparently start with the Carthaginian in mid-speech.)

### ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ (?)

4

].. ἐψόφηκεν· ἐπανάγω

In the apparatus to lines 1–61 of this play, those supplements whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr., E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 36 (1968), 1–8. 4–6 Part-division and identification of speakers suggested by Del Corno (4) and Arnott (5–6).

## KARCHEDONIOS

(The Man from Carthage)

(SCENE: Probably a street in Athens, with two or three houses visible to the audience. Their inhabitants, however, are now unknown to us.)

(P.Oxy. 2654 contains badly mutilated fragments of 60 lines or so from a single act of the play. From the opening three lines only two words survive: father's (2) and again (3). Lines 4 to 10 yield a more coherent text, although the identity of the speakers is disputed. If the Carthaginian of Menander's title was on stage alone at the beginning of our fragments, he could have been delivering a monologue which ended with him hearing a door open and deciding thereupon to withdraw into the background, lines 4 f.)

CARTHAGINIAN (?)

(in mid-speech ?)

that door']s [just] rattled. I'll withdraw

4

[Back here.]

(As the Carthaginian retires into the background, two men enter from one of the houses on stage. One is certainly a slave, the other not so readily identifiable, but references later in their conversation to 'your brother' (16), a 'father'

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NEANIAS (? beginning his speech after  
the line-opening?)

5                   ].ην θήτε· μηδὲν μηδέπω  
                          ].ον.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ

οὐ κεχρίμασται σφόδρα  
]ος; ἔργον ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου  
ἄνοιαν ἡμέρα μεταστῆσαι μιᾷ.

ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ (?)

10           τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν τί ] ἐστι; περὶ τίνος λαλεῖ  
          ὁ τρισκακοδαί]μων; οὗτός ἐστιν οἰκέτης

(Lines 11–23 contain no connected passage of text:  
]ην[.....] τοίνυν λαλεῖ 11, ]τι προ[.....]ω ποι 12,  
]ος ἂν ἐγὼ λα[λ]ῶ 13, ] ἔπαθες; ὅ τι λέγεις λέγε· 14,  
].τερα θει[.]οι 15, ].το τὰδελφῶ νέμεις 16, ]...θεις  
γὰρ πατήρ 17, -ων]ύμων ἢ κυρίων. (Change of  
speaker) πάντας τρόπους 18, ]ων βου[σὶ]ν ο[ύτ]οσι  
κακὸν 19, ]ις βούς ε[.....].ωδ[ 20, ]α[ 21, ] εὐθὺς  
ηνθ.[ 22, ]ης τύχης 23. A sliver of papyrus attached to  
the foot of the column has on it ]κλ[; this probably

7–8 KT fr. 228

8 ἄνοιαν ἡμέρα μεταστῆσαι mss. of Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2. 31. 19:  
]μεταστῆναι O.   9 Speaker identified by Del Corno.  
9–10 Suppl. Handley.   13 Suppl. Austin.



# KARCHEDONIOS

(17), and 'guardians' (18), together with the conventional patterns of double entries from one house in Menander, make it more probable that the second character was free than a slave, and young perhaps rather than old.)

## YOUNG MAN

(to the slave)

[Don't] make [him]. Nothing ever must  
[ ] 5

## SLAVE

Been badly buffeted,  
[This ]? Surely not! It's hard to cure  
Longstanding folly in a single day!

## CARTHAGINIAN

(overhearing the slave, and aside)

[Now what the devil's [this]? What can [the wretch]  
Be yammering about? He is a slave . . . 10

(The identity of the 'badly buffeted' figure is obscure, but clearly the slave's words here have made the Carthaginian prick up his ears. Lines 11–29 yield only contextless words and phrases, rarely assignable to their speakers and often puzzling: 11 so he's yammering, 12 what (?) . . . he's doing or (with a new speaker intervening here) do it, 13 (the slave?) I yammer, 14 you've suffered? Do say what you mean!, 16 (the slave?) you're (or are you) assigning to your brother, 17 father, you see, 18 or of guardians, followed by a different speaker saying In every way (?), 19 this fellow here . . . bad for cows (!), 20 cow or cows, 22 at once, 23 fortune, 24 nor (?), 26 trays or tray[-carrier(s)], 27 I . . . well, 29 go away. The slave and his companion here doubtless continued their conversation, possibly with occasional asides from the Carthaginian. The subject of

# MENANDER

belongs to 21, 22, or 23, at a distance of several letters after the preserved portions of text. Line 23 appears to have been the final line of the column.

Of the first six lines in column ii (24–29) only a few letters from near the line-ends survive: ].τα μητεγ[ 24, ]επηι.ιδημ[ 25, ]. . . σκαφη[ 26, ] ἐγὼ καλῶς (possibly the end of the line ?) 27, ].ομειπ[ 28, ] ἀπελθ[ 29. A stretch of virtually continuous text then follows, opening with a remark in answer to something said in the previous line.)

NEANIAΣ (?)

30 ἧ]κιστα· [. . .] πρόσσεισιν [οὔ]το[ς].

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ

[οὐκ] ἴσω[ς,  
βέλτιστ[ε, σ]αυτὸν ἀγνοῶν ἐλήλυθας.

ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ

οὐκ οἶομαί γε.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ

καὶ τίς ἐστί σοι, φράσον,  
μήτ]ηρ;

ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ

ἐμοί;

30 Supplementation and part-division in the second half of the line suggested by Handley.

# KARCHEDONIOS

*their conversation cannot now be detected, but it appears to have included references to family business, to judge from the allusions to the young man's (?) brother, a father, and legal guardians in lines 16–18, and possibly also to questions of citizenship, to judge from the mention of 'trays' or 'tray-carrier(s)' in line 26. Resident aliens in Athens (the 'metics') carried trays in the Panathenaic procession, and were in consequence given the nickname of 'tray-carriers'. The 'cows' of 19–20 were presumably proverbial, but the proverb in which they featured has not yet been identified. At line 30 we come again to a passage well enough preserved for Menander's dialogue to speak for itself.)*

## YOUNG MAN

*(to the slave)*<sup>a</sup>

No, no — [you see, ] this man's approaching.

*(The Carthaginian has now come forward, and is accosted by the slave.)*

## SLAVE

Sir,

30

You've surely come here knowing who you are?

## CARTHAGINIAN

*(drily)*

I think so.

## SLAVE

Tell me then your mother's name.

## CARTHAGINIAN

My mother's name?

<sup>a</sup> Could this be in answer to the slave's suggestion in line 29 that the speaker should 'go away', sc. leave the stage?

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ

τ]οὺς δημό[τ]ας νόμιζε ποιεῖν ἐγγράφας.

35 *θυγατὴρ Ἀμ[ί]λκου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, δραπετά,  
Καρχηδονίων ἐμή ᾽στι μήτηρ. τί βλέπεις;*

ἔπειτ' Ἀμί[λκου] θυγατριδοῦς ὧν πράγματα  
ἡμῖν παρ[έ]χ[ει]ς, οἷι τε λήψεσθαι κόρην  
ἄσπ[η]ν;

ἐπειδ[άν γ' ἐγ]γραφῶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.

40 ἀλλ' ἄγνὰ γὰρ[ρ] ὁ κῆρυξ αὐτόθι  
41 του[π]ις.

εἶτα τί;

(Of the remaining four lines of the column only a few letters at the beginnings and ends can be deciphered: (change of speaker: to οἰκέτης ?) ελ.[ ]αι βαρὺς 42, κα..[.]ηγ[ ]. ἐκεῖ 43, .ν[ ]ν τινος 44, .λ.[ ] τήμερον 45.

From column iii a few letters are preserved opening each line: a paragraphus below 47,  $\nearrow$   $\epsilon\nu$ .[ 48,  $\chi$   $\tau\eta$ [ 49,  $\epsilon\rho$ [ 50,  $\chi$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ [ 51,  $\underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}}$   $\tau\omicron\sigma$ .[ 52,  $\epsilon\nu\gamma$ .[ 53,  $\underline{\hspace{1cm}}$   $\alpha\xi\iota$ .[ 54,

KARCHEDONIOS

SLAVE

Yes, and your father's. Just

Imagine it's a registration by  
The deme.<sup>a</sup>

CARTHAGINIAN

You scamp, my mother is a daughter 35  
Of Hamilcar, the general of Carthage.<sup>b</sup>  
What does that look mean?

SLAVE

So you plague us, you  
Intend to have<sup>c</sup> a city girl—you, Hamilcar's  
Grandson?

CARTHAGINIAN

Yes—when I'm duly registered.

SLAVE

But here the crier [ ] pure 40

*(The rest of P.Oxy. 2654 is too mutilated for coherent translation. The conversation between the slave and the Carthaginian obviously continued for some time, and the slave may have pointed out that only free-born Athenians could be registered in the deme and marry Athenian girls. A convincing supplement for the missing middle of line 40*

<sup>a</sup> When a free male Athenian reached the age of eighteen, he became a full citizen, but before his citizenship was registered he had to submit to an examination about his age, parentage and status in his deme. Cf. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: Procedure* (Oxford 1971), 205–207.

<sup>b</sup> See the introduction to this play.

<sup>c</sup> 'To have as wife' probably, but the Greek word is ambiguous.



τί φ[ής; 55, ἀπολ[ 56, ἐναν[τί- 57, ουσπ[ 58, ηπω[ 59, οψε[ 60, εν.[ 61. At this point these papyrus fragments break off. The marginal signs at lines 48, 49, 51 and 52 are puzzling; the 'anchor' sign at 48 possibly indicated that a verse had been omitted here by mistake and was supplied at the foot of the column, the 'chi' marks at 49 and 51 may have been intended to refer the reader to notes in the commentary, and the long, forked paragraphus at 52 perhaps stigmatised that verse as of suspect authenticity: cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, Oxford 1968, 112 ff.)

*Two further papyrus fragments which are tentatively assigned to Καρχηδόνιος*

(a) *P. Oxyrhynchus* 866, a small scrap attributed to this play because (i) the word K]αρχηδονιο[ occurs in its fifth line (85), and (ii) its handwriting is not dissimilar to one of the hands in *P.Oxy.* 2654. Its text runs: 81 ]πολισμον[, 82 ]αι πυθομε[, 83 ἀπ]οβαλούση[, 84 ]ε καθόλου [, 85 K]αρχηδονιο[, 86 ]ρηνεισπι[, 87 ]ρεν[.

56 Either Ἄπολ[λον (ed. pr.) or just possibly Ἄπολ[λοδωρ- (Arnott: cf. 125).

Other remains in column ii and on two dissevered scraps (frs. 5 and 6 Turner), written in hands different from those of the play text, seem to contain mutilated portions of a commentary, but the damage is too great for any sense to be made out of them: ]ιτεθισ.[ / ]κα / ].μνρωβ.[ / ].ιη[ under line 46; ]εουσ...[ / ].κρν.[ / ].ασησω [ fr. 5; ].ον[.]δεη[ / ].λ.λη.ουχ.[ / ]εργα fr. 6.

## KARCHEDONIOS

has not yet been devised, but the 'crier' was presumably the officer of the deme whose job it was to make public announcements about matters such as registration. After line 40 only a few words are intelligible, all uninformative. At the end of 41 the Carthaginian asks What then?, to which in 42 the slave makes a reply including the word severe. 43 yields only there, 44 of some, 45 today, 55 What do you say?, 56 Apol[lo] (?), 57 Opposite. Changes of speaker are marked in the papyrus at lines 47, 53, 54, 58 and 59.

*P.Oxy. 2654 originally contained, in addition to the text of the Karchedonios, a commentary or at least a series of notes on difficult or disputed passages of the play. A few fragments of these notes survive, but in so damaged a state that hardly a single word from them can be safely understood or translated.)*

*Two further papyrus fragments which are  
tentatively assigned to Karchedonios*

(a) *P. Oxyrhynchus 866 contains bits of seven lines only: 81 my city (?), 82 learn[ing] (?), 83 some woman throwing away or losing, 84 as a whole, 85 Carthaginian; 86 and 87 are too mutilated to yield any sense. Does this fragment come from a conversation about the Carthaginian's origins?*

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(a) *P. Oxyrhynchus 866* 81  $\mu\omicron\nu$  or  $\eta\nu$ .  
85 Suppl. Grenfell, Hunt.

83 Suppl. Turner.

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(b) *P. Cologne* 4 (inv. 5031), mutilated portions of two columns of text written in the same two hands as the text of *P.Oxy.* 2654, and so almost certainly deriving from the same papyrus roll, possibly even from the same play. *P.Oxy.* 2654 was written with 23 lines in each column of text; it is likely therefore that there was a gap of 13 lines between the bottom of column i of *P. Cologne* 4 and the top surviving line of its column ii. Its text runs as follows:

	<i>column i</i>		<i>column ii</i>
101	]ματ[ ἀνθ]ρωπι[ν ]ει γαμεῖν ]α ῥαιδίως	123	[...]σδιιδ[ [.]σδιδομ[ε ΑΠ. (?) [.]έχω γ[ 126 [.]μευντ[
105	]ου φθόρου -τυ]χέστερος ]ικην ἐμοῦ ἀ]κολουθήσω φέρ[ω]ν		ἀλλοτριοι[ <u>XXXX</u> 128 <u>ἐξε</u> ληλυθε[
109	θ]ύλακον, πήραν, κράνος	129	Ἰκόνιον α[ 130 Δᾶ', ἐλοῦ[

(b) *P. Cologne* 4 102, 106, 108, 109 Suppl. Koenen.  
 107 εστιμον Col., with στι deleted. ' 109 Above θ]υλακον  
 Col. has κ]ωδι(ον) as a variant reading. 123 ff. Trochaic  
 tetrameters. 125 The marginal sign (ΑΠ or alternatively ΑΤ)  
 is probably an abbreviation of the speaker's name: 'Απολλόδω-  
 ρος? 127–128 The interlinear sign is puzzling; it could indi-  
 cate the omission of a line or passage, an act-ending, or some  
 other feature considered notable; cf. the single χ before lines 49  
 and 51 of *P.Oxy.* 2654. 128–129 A vacant space seems to have  
 been left between these two lines. 129–130 These lines are  
 indented three letters. 129 The *Etymologicum Magnum*,  
 470.45 cites Menander (fr. 852 Körte-Thierfelder = here ?) for  
 scanning Ἰκόνιον with its first syllable short.

(b) P. Cologne 4 (inv. 5031) is considerably more informative. It contains the ends of nine lines at the bottom of one column and then, after a lacuna of 13 lines, the beginnings of eight more lines at the bottom of the adjacent column. A few words can be deciphered: human (?) 102, to marry 103, easily 104, bane 105, more fortunate or more [un]fortunate 106, me (*genitive case*) 107, I'll follow, carrying / [ ] bag, pouch, helmet 108–109, give 123, give again 124, I have (?) 125, alien (*as adjective*) 127, He or She's come out 128, Iconium 129, Daos, pick (?) 130. The earlier words (101–107) cannot be related to an identifiable context, but 108–109 are most likely to have been spoken by a soldier's attendant—slave or parasite—with reference to that soldier's equipment (cf. Kolax, 29 f.). Lines 123 ff. appear to be trochaic tetrameters—evidence perhaps of a new scene beginning in the gap after line 109 (unless, that is, 101–109 were also written in trochaic tetrameters!). Nothing can be made of the situation in 123–127, but there are paragraphi above and below 128, and the speaker of 125 is identified by a blurred and abbreviated name in the margin which may be read as 'Ap.' or 'At.'. No known character in Menander's plays has a name beginning with either pair of letters, but Apollodoros would be a conceivable name for a free Athenian. Between 127 and 128 the scribe may have omitted a line or a passage, or indicated an act-break.<sup>a</sup> Between 128 and 129 the scribe has left a blank space, of uncertain significance; an act-break is the least plausible hypothesis here, however, since in the previous line the speaker seems to have announced someone's arrival on stage from one of the stage houses, and characters do not thus enter at the last line of an act. The 'Iconium' mentioned in 129 is

<sup>a</sup> See the critical apparatus, *ad loc.*



\* \* \*

*Six fragments of Καρχηδόνιος,  
quoted by ancient authors*

1 (226 Körte-Thierfelder, 260 Kock)

Athenaeus 9. 385de: ὀψάριον δὲ τῶν μὲν ζώντων ἡμεῖς  
λέγομεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰχθύος . . . Μένανδρος  
Καρχηδονίῳ·

ἐπιθυμιάσας τῷ Βορέα <λιβαν>ίδιον  
ὀψάριον οὐδὲν ἔλαβον· ἐψήσω<sub>ι</sub> φακῇν.

1 ἐπιθυμιάσας and <λιβαν>ίδιον Bentley: ἐπιθυμίαςας and  
ἴδιον ms. A.



## KARCHEDONIOS

probably the city in Lycaonia about 100 miles from the south coast of Asia Minor. Could this have been the area where the soldier whose equipment is listed in 109 had been a mercenary? 130 indicates that a slave Daos was a character in the scene; even if P. Cologne 4 is rightly assigned to the Karchedonios, we still dare not assume that Daos was the name of the slave in the fragments of P.Oxy. 2654, for the comedies of Menander sometimes include as many as three slaves in a single cast (for example, *Dyskolos*, *Heros*).

\* \* \*

*Six fragments of Karchedonios,  
quoted by ancient authors*

### 1

Athenaeus: Along with our contemporaries we use the word ὀψάριον, but . . . it was applied to fish also . . . by Menander in *Karchedonios*,

To Boreas<sup>a</sup> I offered incense, but  
I got no fish. I'll boil some lentil soup.

*One possibility is that these were the first words on entry of a parasite or slave who had gone fishing the previous night and now reports his lack of success (contrast Gripus in Plautus, Rudens 906 ff.). How such a remark and entry would fit into the plot of Karchedonios, however, remains obscure. Lentil soup was typically a poor man's substitute for fish.*

<sup>a</sup> The god of the North Wind.

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### 2 (227 KT, 261 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 24b. 27 (ὅτι ἀσύμφορον τὸ ἔχειν τέκνα) cites line 1 with the heading Μένανδρος Καρχηδονίῳ. A scholiast in mss. E and M of Homer, *Odyssey* 1. 215 (1 p. 40 Dindorf) and Eustathius' commentary on the same passage (1412.15) cite both lines with the name of the playwright but not the play.

αὐτὸν γὰρ οὐθεὶς οἶδε τοῦ ποτ' ἐγένετο,  
ἀλλ' ὑπονοοῦμεν πάντες ἢ πιστεύομεν.

1 αὐτὸν Eustathius and the scholiast: αὐτὸς mss. of Stobaeus. οὐθεὶς mss. of Stobaeus: οὐδεὶς Eustathius, scholiast. τοῦ ποτ' Eustathius: πῶς ποτ' scholiast, πῶς mss. of Stobaeus.

### 3 (230 KT, 261 K)

Photius (1. 392 Naber) and the *Suda* (λ 626 Adler) s.v. Λιτυέρσης· εἶδος ὥδης. Μένανδρος Καρχηδονίῳ·

ᾄδοντα Λιτυέρσην ἀπ' ἀρίστου τέως

Lemma Καρχηδονίῳ Hemsterhuys: Χαλκηδονίῳ Gale ms. of Photius, Χαλκηδονίων mss. of *Suda*.

### 4 (231 KT, 265 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 9. 16 (περὶ δικαιοσύνης), with the heading Μενάνδρου Καρχηδονίου, and 4. 1. 21 (περὶ πολιτείας), with the heading Μενάνδρου,

τὸ καλῶς ἔχον που κρεῖττόν ἐστι καὶ νόμον.

### 5 (232 KT, 266 K)

Pollux 10. 73: ἀσκοπυτίνη· . . . καὶ Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Καρχηδονίῳ κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι.

## KARCHEDONIOS

### 2

Stobaeus ('That having children is inconvenient', citing v. 1 as 'Menander in *Karchedonios*'); a scholiast on Homer's *Odyssey* and Eustathius (citing both lines as 'Menander'):

For no one knows who his own father is —  
We all assume it, or take it on trust.

### 3

Photius and the *Suda* illustrating the use of λιπνέρονης (harvest song): Menander in *Karchedonios*,

Singing a harvest song from lunch the while

*Context and speaker are unknown. A legend seems to have been invented to account for the word λιπνέρονης. In it 'Lityerses' became a son of King Midas of Phrygia, challenging travellers to a reaping contest, flogging the losers, and eventually being himself killed by Heracles. See Gow's edition of Theocritus, commentary on 10. 41.*

### 4

Cited twice by Stobaeus: in 'On justice' with author and title, in 'On government' with author's name only.

Virtue outranks, I fancy, even law.

*Context and speaker are unknown.*

### 5

Pollux: ἀσκοπυτίνη (leather flask); . . . Menander has used the noun in *Karchedonios*.

*The flask may have been mentioned as one of the soldier's accoutrements (see lines 108–109).*

MENANDER

6 (233 KT, 265 K)

A scholiast on Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1502 (c: p. 232 Koster): ὁ μέσατος . . . ἀντὶ τοῦ μέσου· καὶ Μένανδρος Καρχηδονίῳ.

*One further fragment, tentatively  
assigned to Καρχηδόνιος*

7 (229 KT, 263 K)

The *Suda* (χ 465 Adler) s.v. χρεία· . . . καὶ παροιμία·

χρεία διδάσκει, καὶ ἄμουνσος ἦ, σοφὸν  
Καρχηδόνιον.

τούτεστιν, ἐνδεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ ποιησάμενοι τὴν  
ἐπίνοιαν.

2 Καρχηδονίῳ conjectured by Meineke (as indication of the cited fragment's source). Lemma, ποιησάμενος or -ησασθαι conj. Badham.

A scholiast on Aristophanes' *Wasps* notes that 'Menander too (sc. as well as Aristophanes) in *Karchedonios*' used the unusual superlative form μέσατος (midmost) in place of the normal positive form μέσος (middle).

*One further fragment, tentatively  
assigned to Karchedonios*

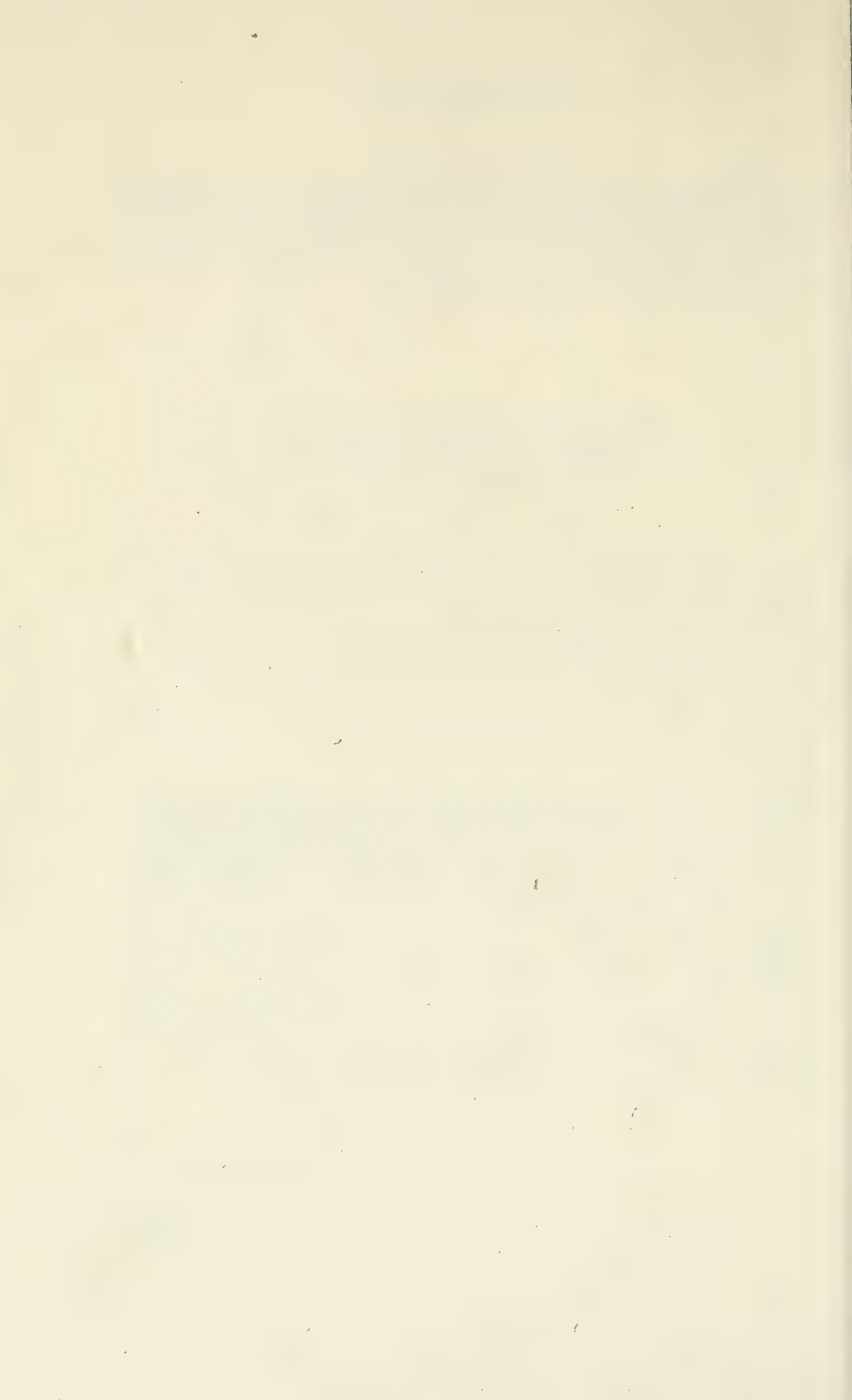
The *Suda* s.v. χρεία (need/necessity) includes the following note: . . . and a proverb,

Need teaches wisdom even to a clod  
From Carthage (?).

This means: making his intelligence receptive as a result of the opportunity.

*Here the Greek word (Καρχηδόνιον) translated as 'from Carthage' has sometimes been interpreted not as part of the verse quotation but as a garbled indication that the source of the words 'Need teaches wisdom even to a clod' was '(Menander) in Karchedonios'. We cannot be certain whether the attribution to this comedy is correct or not, but the quoted words cleverly fuse together two famous Euripidean conceits: 'Love teaches one to be a poet, even if / A clod before' (fr. 663 Nauck<sup>2</sup>), and 'Need teaches wisdom even to a dolt' (fr. 715 Nauck<sup>2</sup>); compare also Euripides, *Electra* 375 f.*





KITHARISTES  
(THE LYRE PLAYER)



## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

Berl. = *P. Berlin* 9767, a fragment containing three successive columns (= 97 or 98 lines of text) from a papyrus roll written at the end of the first century B.C. Its provenance has not been stated. The first and third columns are badly mutilated, and all three have patches of abrasion. First edition: W. Schubart and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V: *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, II: *Lyrische und Dramatische Fragmente* (Berlin 1907), 115–122, with a photograph of lines 35 to 101 (pl. VI); lines 44–68 are reproduced also in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (Bonn 1911), plate 11a. No photograph of lines 1–34 has been published.

O = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3968, a fragment containing the ends of 30 lines in one column and the beginnings of 21 in the next, written in the third century A.D. Although it is printed here (after fragment 13), its attribution to *Kitharistes* is very uncertain: see the introduction to frs. 10–13. First edition: E. W. Handley, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 59 (1992), 70–74, with a photograph (plate V).

Turn. = *P. Turner* 5, from *Oxyrhynchus*; an extract written in the second or third century A.D., and containing 12 or

so lines which partially agree with fragment 1 as cited from the play by Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 33. 13 and Plutarch, *Moralia* 466a. Its readings are cited here under fragment 1. First edition: E. W. Handley, *Papyri Greek & Egyptian . . . in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner* (London 1981), with a photograph (plate III).

Fragments 1–13 are quotations from a variety of ancient sources; 1–9 are certainly, but 10–13 only tentatively, assigned to this play. See the introduction to volume I, pp. xxiv f.

The identification of *P. Berlin* 9767 as part of Menander's *Kitharistes* is practically certain, although the papyrus text nowhere coincides with an ancient quotation from the play. Stobaeus (*Eclogae* 4. 33. 13) and Plutarch (*De tranq. anim.* 3 = *Moralia* 466a), however, cite from the *Kitharistes* a passage (fragment 1) in which a man named Phantias is addressed, and the Berlin papyrus mentions a Phantias who is a *κιθαριστής* ('lyre player', 96 ff.).

The papyrus is very informative about the antecedents to the plot, but some of its hints are difficult to interpret. Three successive scenes can be identified. Of the first only the mutilated ending survives. In it a woman (cf. line 2) and a man (note the gender of the participle in line 17) are having a discussion in which marriage (7), perhaps desertion (10), and a rape (19–20) are mentioned. If the male speaker is identical with the raper and has promised to marry but possibly since deserted his victim, he is most probably the Moschion who appears in the third scene of the papyrus fragments, as we shall see. The woman to whom he is perhaps confessing his guilt is addressed by



him as 'dearest' (2); she is accordingly more likely to be his mother than a connection of the raped girl.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of this scene there may be a three-line space in the papyrus (28–30) indicating an act-break. Although only the extreme ends of lines are preserved at this point, it is clear that none of the lines immediately preceding 28 closed with any of the formulaic phrases habitually used by Menander to introduce the chorus directly before its first appearance at the end of Act I.<sup>2</sup> There are three possible explanations for this combination of circumstances. The assumption of an act-break may be mistaken. Or Menander may have chosen to end a first act without resorting to the known formulas which identify the chorus' approach. Or thirdly, despite their expository function these papyrus scenes may straddle not the first and second acts, but rather the second and third. The last explanation seems to me the most likely; the presence of explanatory material at this stage of the play is not a compelling objection to it, since Menander often delays apparently expository narrative to a later

<sup>1</sup> So first T. B. L. Webster, *Studies in Menander* (1st edition, Manchester 1950), 53. Would Moschion have used the same endearment to the nurse (so Del Corno's edition of Menander, 450) or the mother of the girl he had raped and then apparently abandoned, leaving Ephesus (the scene of his adventure) for Athens? There are dramatic reasons also for believing that the girl's immediate entourage was not seen on stage thus early in the play: see below. This and other problems connected with the plot of the *Kitharistes* are dealt with at greater length in some notes on the play which I have published in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 31 (1978), 26–32.

<sup>2</sup> See the introduction to *Georgos*.

stage in the play (see for instance *Dysk.* 407 ff., *Epit.* 451 ff., *Samia* 219 ff.).

The second of the papyrus scenes, which opens the new act if the above argument is correct, is still largely an unsolved puzzle. Two men enter, discussing the misfortunes of one of them. This sufferer has apparently just returned from abroad, where he was in contact with a wealthy 'daughter' (35-37) who seems later to be described as his 'wife' (43). The text is badly abraded in several vital places, and we cannot follow all the details of the story. For some reason or other, however, this woman has not arrived in Athens and an accident such as shipwreck is suspected. The most plausible identification of this sufferer is Phantias, the lyre player of the title. He was rich (see frs. 1 and possibly also 11), and had in Ephesus a daughter with whom, as the next scene shows, Moschion had fallen in love. Ephesus then was presumably the city abroad that Phantias had visited, but how do the wealthy 'daughter' (who was his wife) and his own daughter (whom Moschion loved) fit into the story as we know it? The most economical combination of the facts and hints that occur in the various fragments seems to me to be as follows: Phantias had met, in Ephesus many years before a woman who had borne him a daughter there. Phantias had deserted her, returning to Athens. He had recently revisited Ephesus, met again the woman (who was now rich), and married her. She had set out for Athens, probably with her daughter, ahead of him, but had not found her way to his house. This fact can easily be understood if her daughter, raped previously by Moschion in Ephesus, had a pregnancy to conceal; mother and daughter could perhaps have found accommodation

clandestinely in Athens (with Moschion's help?: see 22–26; in this case Moschion's desertion of the daughter would only have been temporary), but this is just one possibility.

At the end of their scene Phantias and his companion, whose identity remains a mystery (could he have been an Athenian connection of Phantias' wife?), leave the stage, and Moschion's father appears. He has been summoned by his son, who enters shortly afterwards and explains that while in Ephesus he fell in love with Phantias' daughter. The papyrus breaks off before we hear the father's reaction to Moschion's news, but it is informative in one other important respect. We learn from it that Moschion's father lived in one of the stage houses (63), and that Phantias occupied the house next door (100 f.).

Speculation about the missing portions of Menander's plots is rarely profitable; but Phantias' wife and daughter doubtless turned up safely in the end, and Moschion would have been allowed to marry Phantias' daughter after her mother turned out to be not an Ephesian but a free Athenian woman by birth.<sup>1</sup> A fragment cited by Stobaeus (fr. 4 here) names one of the characters in the play as Laches. This name is normally given by Menander and his colleagues to older men (*Heros*, *Fab. Inc.*, probably *Perinthia*; cf. C. Austin, *C.G.F.P.* frs. 250, 255; Terence, *Hecyra*); in this play Moschion's father and Phantias' companion are the known candidates.

Phantias is one of the less common character names of

<sup>1</sup> It can hardly have been a coincidence that the Athenian deme which Menander chose for Phantias (Euonymon: see on lines 97 f.) had close links with one of the civic tribes in Ephesus.

## MENANDER

later Greek comedy; outside *Kitharistes*, it appears in two Menandrian fragments (once by conjecture) from unknown plays, in two anonymous monostichs and in one badly mutilated papyrus (O) with no other links to *Kitharistes* than this name. Since there is at least a possibility that all five derive from one and the same source, they are printed here without much confidence as fragments 12–13, 10–11 and papyrus fragment O. The last of these five would add two names to the cast-list: a slave Sosias (O.i.1, O.i.20) and a *hetaira* Thais (O.ii.5), presumably a minor character totally different from the title-figure of Menander's *Thais*. The uncertainty, however, of the attribution of this papyrus to *Kitharistes* prevents me from including their names in the cast-list below; see also the introduction to fragments 10–13.

The line-numbering of Berl. coincides with that of Sandbach's Oxford Text and Körte's third Teubner edition. No hypothesis, didascalie notice, or cast-list survives for this play. Its production date is unknown.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

Moschion, a young Athenian in love with Phantias'  
daughter

A woman, most probably Moschion's mother

Phantias, a now wealthy lyre player

An unidentified companion of Phantias (? some  
connection of Phantias' wife)

Moschion's father

Either Phantias' companion or Moschion's father or a now unknown third character in this play was named Laches.



## KITHARISTES

In the missing portions of the play several other characters doubtless had speaking roles, including Phantias' wife, if my reading of the plot is correct. If Phantias' daughter appeared on stage, her part was probably of minor importance, and may have been played by a mute. One or more slaves, played by a mute or mutes, carried Phantias' baggage inside at line 52. There was certainly a chorus, possibly of tipsy revellers, to perform the entr'actes.



## ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ

(The Berlin papyrus begins in mid-scene, with Moschion probably in conversation with his mother. Only the ends of the last 27 lines of the scene are preserved, and assignment of individual lines to either of the two speakers is in most cases impossible: ]νον πολύν τινα 1, (Μοσχ.) ]ω φιλτάτη 2, ]η δεδυκέ[ν]αι 3, ]ει κ[α]ρδίαν 4, ]ος δ' ἦν τῷ κακῷ 5, ]υν γάμου 7, ]μια 8, ]εν. . .ς 9, ] κατέλιπες 10, ]ω 11, ]τε δὴ 12, ]ων 13, σ]υναπήρκει δέ μοι 14, ]λθης τῆς ἐμῆς 15, ]νως πως ἄφνω 16, (Μήτηρ) ]ν λέγων τρέχεις 17, ]εται 18, ] ὕβρει τὸ γεγονὸς 19, ] βία 20, ]ων αὐτὴν σύ μοι 21, ]ν μητέρα 22, ].αι τί σοι 23, ο]υθένος 24, ]ουν ἔδει 25, ] λάθρα 26, ]ερων 27.

After line 27 there is a blank space three lines in extent (= 28–30 in the traditional line-numbering followed

In the apparatus to this play, those supplements whose author is not named were made in the first edition of the Berlin papyrus by U. von Wilamowitz, *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V.ii (Berlin 1907), 115–122. 6 Abrasion has removed all traces of letters in this line. 9, 15 ]ενο[.]ο and ]λοπε respectively read by Schubart, Wilamowitz; ]ενα τις tentatively and ]λθης by Arnott.

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<sup>a</sup> The arguments for postulating an act-break at lines 28–30 and for identifying the acts are given on pages 118 and 120 and in the introduction to *Kitharistes*.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the introduction to *Kitharistes*.

## KITHARISTES

(The Lyre Player)

(SCENE: A street somewhere in Athens, probably with two houses visible to the audience. One belongs to Phantias the lyre player, the other to Moschion's father.)

(The Berlin papyrus preserves mutilated portions of 101 lines probably from the end of the second act and the beginning of the third.<sup>a</sup> When the papyrus begins, Moschion appears to be on stage in conversation with his mother, according to the hypothesis which seems to me most reasonable.<sup>b</sup> Of this scene, however, only the final 27 line-ends are preserved, yielding a series of disconnected words and phrases which can scarcely ever be attributed to a definite speaker: a lot of [time (?)] 1, dearest as an address to a woman (and so spoken by Moschion) 2, to have entered/sunk 3, heart 4, was . . . in (?) trouble 5, of marriage 7, you deserted as a statement or a question 10, was enough for me 14, of (?) my 15, somehow suddenly 16, saying . . . you (masculine) run (spoken by Moschion's mother) 17, by (?) violence . . . what's happened or what's been born 19, by force 20, you . . . her (?) to me 21, mother 22, something for you 23, of (?) nothing 24, had to or ought to have 25, furtively 26, in love (?) 27. It is tempting but probably reckless to suggest that Mos-

here) with no sign of abrasion. The most probable explanation is that the scribe originally wrote here the note XO P OT as an indication of an act-break.)

ΜΕΡΟΣ Γ' (?)

(Line 31 will in that case begin a new act. The opening scene appears to be a dialogue between Phantias, the lyre player of the title, and an unnamed but probably free male companion. Of the scene's first three lines only the endings are preserved: *πά]νθ' ὅσα* 31, *]ας* 32, *]ονον* 33. After line 33 there may just possibly have been, at the bottom of column i of the papyrus, a further line of text from which no letters now survive, and then we reach column ii, where the text is much more complete although still badly abraded in places. Phantias' companion (here designated simply as ANHP) seems to be in mid-speech when line 35 begins.)

ANHP

- 35     ζηλοῖς, λαβών τε τῇ[ν . . . . . ἐλ]ήλυθ[ας  
       θυγατέρα δεῦρο, πλουσίαν θ' [ῆγ]ῆ μόνη[ν  
       ταύτην, σεαυτὸν δ' οὐχί;

35–101 Berl. uses dicola to indicate changes of speaker, but only when the changes occur in mid-line. 36–38 Deciphered (not perhaps always convincingly) and suppl. Schubart.

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<sup>a</sup> The events which appear to form the background to this conversation are discussed in the introduction to this play.

## KITHARISTES

*chion may have been confessing his sins here to his mother. Had he raped a girl (19–20) whom he had then promised to marry (7 ?) but now, by his mother's accusation (if she spoke line 10), had abandoned? If he had committed these offences, the girl in question was presumably Phantias' daughter, whom he had admired in Ephesus (cf. 94 ff.) and perhaps deserted there on his departure for Athens.*

*With line 27 this scene and perhaps also the second act may have come to an end, Moschion leaving by the side-entrance to the right which was imagined to lead towards the city centre, and his mother going off into her house. After their departure, the chorus enter to give their second entr'acte performance.)*

## ACT III (?)

*(After the departure of the chorus, Phantias and a companion enter from the left, the direction of the harbour. They are probably attended by one or more slaves carrying a lot of luggage. From the first four lines of the new scene only one intelligible phrase survives: everything that in 31. At line 35, however, we come for the first time in the papyrus fragment to a coherent passage, although the text is still severely abraded in places. Phantias' companion is in mid-speech.)*

PHANTIAS' COMPANION<sup>a</sup>

[Of her position]

You're envious? You've married [       's ] daughter,  
[You]'ve come here, and you [think] that *she* alone  
Has money, while *you* haven't?

35

# MENANDER

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

πάντ' ἐγ[ὼ μό]νης  
ταύτης λογίζομαί τε .[.]υ[....]νεμην.  
ἐλευθέρα τ' ἦν καὶ πόλεως Ἑλλη[νί]δος,  
καὶ πάντα ταῦτ' ἐκτησά[μην].

40

ΑΝΗΡ

ἀ[γαθ]ῇ τύχῃ.

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

οὐ δεῖ λαβεῖν με πορνο[βοσκού] θρέμ[ματα].

ΑΝΗΡ

τί δὴ τὸ λυποῦν σ' ἐστί; [τί ποτ' οὐ]κ ἤγαγες  
ἐνταῦθα τὴν γυναικα κα[ὶ τὴν οὐσία]ν;

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου γῆς ἐστιν.

ΑΝΗΡ

οὐ[κ ἐλήλ]υθεν;

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

οὐπω γε· νυνί, τῶν χρόν[ω]ν ὄντων μακρῶν,  
λογίζομαι πᾶν, μή τι κατὰ θάλατταν ἦ  
ἀτύχημα γεγονὸς ἢ περὶ [λησ]τάς.

45

40 ἀ[γαθ]ῇ τύχῃ assigned to Phanias' companion by Arnott (a dicolon could have been lost in the mid-line abrasion).

41 θρέμ[ματα] suppl. Sandbach 42 [τί ποτ'] suppl. Arnott.

43 Suppl. Körte. 44 οὐ[κ ἐλήλ]υθεν assigned to Phanias' companion by Sandbach (ἐστινου[ Berl., apparently]).

46 τοπαν Berl.: corr. Wilamowitz. 47 [λησ]τάς suppl. van Herwerden.



## KITHARISTES

PHANIAS

All the wealth

Is hers alone, I reckon, [and

Free-born she was, belonged to a Greek city —

[I]’ve gained all *this*, as well!

(*Phanias here points to the extensive baggage surrounding him.*)

PHANIAS’ COMPANION

Good luck to you!

40

PHANIAS

No need for me to take tarts (?) from a pimp!

PHANIAS’ COMPANION

So what’s upsetting you? [Why ever] didn’t

You bring your wife here with [the property]?

PHANIAS

I don’t know where on earth she is!

PHANIAS’ COMPANION

She’s not

Arrived?

PHANIAS

Not yet. And with the length of time

45

I picture all the hazards now—at sea

Perhaps some mishap, or with [pirates].<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Piracy was especially prevalent throughout the Aegean Sea in the period after the death of Alexander the Great, when Menander was writing his plays. See H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1924), especially 122–130, and W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 5 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1991), 312–324, 339–341.

MENANDER

ANHP

μηθαμῶς.

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

οὐκ οἶδ'· ἀθυμῶ καὶ δέδοιχ' ὑπερβολῇ.

ANHP

εἰκός τι πάσχειν.

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

50 πρὸς ἀγορὰν δ' οὕτως ἅμα  
προάγων ἀκούσῃ καὶ τὰ λοίφ', ὧν μοι γενοῦ  
σύμβουλος.

ANHP

οὐθὲν κωλύει με.

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ

ταῦτα δὲ  
εἴσω τις ἀ[γέτ]ω τὴν ταχίστην ἐκποδών.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ

55 καὶ τί ποτ' ἂν εἶη; πάννυ γὰρ οὐχ αὐτοῦ ποεῖ  
ἔργον. μεταπέμπεται' ἐξ ἀγροῦ με Μοσχίων,  
ὃς ἄλλοτ', εἰ μὲν ἐνθάδ' ὦν τύχοιμ' ἐγώ,  
εἰς ἀγρὸν ἔφενγεν· εἰ δ' ἐκεῖσ' ἔλθοιμ' ἐγώ,  
ἐνταῦθ' ἀναστρέψας ἔπινε. καὶ μάλα

47 *μημαθως* Berl.: corr. Maas.

48 *αθυμωι* Berl. 52 *Suppl.* Körte.

## KITHARISTES

PHANIAS' COMPANION

(*horrified*)

No!

PHANIAS

I can't be sure. I'm wretched, and extremely  
Frightened.

PHANIAS' COMPANION

It's natural to worry.

PHANIAS

Come

To town with me and then you'll hear the rest.  
I need your guidance here.

50

PHANIAS' COMPANION

There's nothing to prevent

Me.

PHANIAS

(*to the slave or slaves with the luggage*)

Hurry and get this away inside!

(*While the luggage is conveyed by the slave or slaves into Phantias' house, Phantias and his companion walk off by the side-entrance on the right in the direction of the town-centre. Shortly afterwards Moschion's father hurries on to the stage by the opposite side-entrance, having come from his farm in the country.*)

FATHER

Nów what the devil's up? It's not like him  
At all, this! Moschion has called me from  
The farm. Before, when chance has brought me here,  
He's run off to the farm. When I've gone there,  
He's charged back here—and boozed! Quite sensible

55

MENANDER

κατὰ λόγον· οὐ παρήν ὁ νουθετῶν πατήρ.  
 οὐκ [εἶχον ὁρ]γὴν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγενόμην  
 60 εἷς [τῶν δυνα]μένων οὐσίαν μικρὰν ποεῖν.  
 οὐκ [ἡδίκηκε]ν ἢ γυνὴ κατὰ τοῦτό γε,  
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐμο[ῦ] 'στιν· οὐθὲν ἀγαθὸν γοῦν ποεῖ.  
 εἰσιτέον εἰ[σω] δ' ἐστίν. ἂν δὲ μὴ τύχη  
 ὦν ἔνδο[ν, ἄρτ]ι πρὸς ἀγορὰν πορεύσομαι·  
 65 ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐ[τό]ν που πρὸς Ἑρμαῖς ὄψομαι.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ἄρ' οὖν ὁ π[ατήρ] ἐλήλυθ', ἢ πορευτέον  
 ἐμοὶ πρ[ὸς ἐκεῖ]νόν ἐστιν; οὐ γὰρ δεῖ χρόνον  
 τὸ πρᾶ[γμα λαμ]βάνειν [ὅ]λως οὐδ' ὄντινόν.  
 ἤδη δο[κεῖ μοι πρ]οσ[μένειν]

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ (?)

70 αἰτεῖν [...]αι.ε[  
 οἶμαι μένειν δεῖ[  
 προσμεινάτω τὸν ε[

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (?)

[

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ

ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ σοῦ.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

χαῖρ[ε,

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ

καὶ σύ γε ...λε[

58 Corr. Arnott: γαρην Berl.

59 Suppl. Sandbach.

60 [δυνα]μένων suppl. Körte.

62 Suppl. Schubart.

## KITHARISTES

Of him—no father there to criticise!  
 [I've] not [felt] cross, for I myself was one  
 Of those who [knew the art] of squandering 60  
 Their assets. *Here* my wife [is innocent]!  
 From me he gets it—good-for-nothing that  
 He is! I'd better go inside. If he's  
 Not in the house, I'll go [straight] into town.  
 I'll find him by the Herms<sup>a</sup> there, probably. 65

*(As Moschion's father turns to go off into his house, Moschion himself enters by the side-entrance to the right. He does not at first see his father, who pauses in the background by his door.)*

### MOSCHION

Well, has my [father] come, or do I have  
 To go and find him? This affair can't be  
 Delayed at all—no, not one second! [I]  
 Think [I'll wait] now [ 69

*(At this point we come to the third column of text on the papyrus, where for some of the lines only the first half is preserved and for the others less even than that. Because of this mutilation we cannot be certain about all the*

<sup>a</sup> A large group of statues of Hermes at the north-western entrance to the Athenian agora. This place was particularly associated with the young men of the cavalry, and was doubtless a regular rendezvous of the idler sons of rich men. See H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972), 94–96.

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63 Suppl. Sudhaus.      65, 67, 68 Suppl. Schubart.

69 δὲ[κέ] suppl. Wilamowitz, the rest van Herwerden.

70–101 In the mutilated state of this column of text the part-division at several points is highly uncertain.



MENANDER

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

75 οὐκ ἔλεγον εὐθὺς [  
ἀλλ' ἀνδρεϊστέον . .]

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ (?)

τίνα λογον; ἀεὶ προσ[  
πολλὰ περὶ πολλῶν [

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

80 γῆμαί με βούλει καὶ  
φρονήσεως γὰρ τοῦτ[ο

*changes of speaker in the next 32 lines, but the general drift of the dialogue can be followed. After line 69 Moschion moves towards his own door, while his father speaks two lines and a bit apparently (70–72a), aside from Moschion. This speech includes the phrases To ask (70), I think [I] ought to stay (71), and Let him wait for the (72). We may perhaps infer that although the father has observed the son's arrival, he makes no immediate move forward, expecting rather that his son should make the first approach. By line 72 Moschion has evidently seen his father, and he may possibly have made some remark now lost (directly to his father, or more probably aside) in the second part of line 72, to which his father responds (almost certainly in an aside) with I too, concerning you! at the beginning of 73. Moschion now politely greets his father, Hello, (with the rest of 73), to which his father responds with the conventional Hello to you, too (74). Moschion then probably makes his first attempt to introduce the subject for which he has sought this interview with his father, with I didn't say at first [     ] / But now I must be brave—[I'll broach a subject] (75–76). but before Moschion can explain what his subject is, his father appears to interrupt him: What subject? Always [     ] / A lot about a lot of things [     ] (77–78). Moschion now comes to the point: You'd like me married. [I've held back before,] / For this [needs] careful thought [and     ] (79–80). Before Moschion can explain that he now wishes to get married (to Phantias' daughter), his father once again intervenes, launching into a delightfully smug lecture on how to choose a wife. Even though the text is infuriatingly mutilated hereabouts, the irony of the speech comes clearly through.)*

# MENANDER

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ

ὦ Μοσχίων, ἄλλην μ[  
 ἔτοιμος, εἰ μὴ προστιθ[  
 ῆν δεῖ λαβεῖν· αὐτ[.] δὲ [  
 ἐλευθέραν· τοῦτο πολὺν [  
 85 μόνον κατὰ λόγον· εἰ δ' α[  
 πρὸς τὸ γένος ἐστίν· ἀλλ[  
 εἰ παρθένον δὴ π[ρ]ότε[ρον]  
 σύμβουλον ἂν καλῆς [  
 αὐτὸς κεκρικῶς [  
 90 ἂ δὴ δέδωκας [...]. [  
 μηθεὶς ματην.π[.]ω. [

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἄκουσον. σπ. .[

90–91 The speaker here could perhaps be Moschion.

91 μάτην or μὰ τήν (but none of the conventional male oaths, e.g. Δήμητρα or Γῆν, fits the traces).

## KITHARISTES

### FATHER

Well, Moschion, [I'm] ready [to accept	81
Another, if [you] don't agree to take	
[The girl] you ought. [You must be sure to pick	
A free-born girl. That's easily [the first	
[And] only sound criterion. [Make sure	85
Her pedigree is [spotless. Verify	
[That she's] a virgin first! [Words, though, are vain,	
If you're consulting [me on marriage, when	
[You]'ve chosen [first the bride you want yourself!	
So what you've given [	90
Let nobody in vain [	

*(The bracketed supplements here, it must be emphasised, are simply speculative attempts at linking the preserved fragments of text. They assume (perhaps mistakenly) that Moschion's father had previously chosen for him a bride whom the son did not want. What emerges most clearly from the speech, however, is the irony of Moschion's situation as he listens to his father's description of an acceptable bride. Moschion wishes to marry Phantias' daughter, who at this stage of the play appears not to be a free-born Athenian, but a native of Ephesus; she is no virgin, but probably pregnant by Moschion; her pedigree would not be spotless, if her mother was not married to Phantias at the time of her conception or for years afterwards. Lines 90–91 are of uncertain import; they could alternatively be the opening lines of Moschion's reply to his father, as the son describes his own adventures in Ephesus (92 ff.). Here rather more of Menander's Greek has survived the mutilation of the column.)*

### MOSCHION

But listen to the rest. [	I sailed	92
---------------------------	----------	----

MENANDER

95 εἰς τὴν Ἑφεσον· ἔπεσον [  
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἦν τῆς Ἑ[φεσίας  
δειπνοφορία τις παρθένω[ν  
εἶδον κόρην ἐνταῦθα Φανίου [τινὸς  
Εὐωνυμέως.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ  
Εὐωνυμῆϊς κα[κεῖ τινές  
εἰσ' ἐν Ἑφέσῳ;

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ  
χρέα μὲν οὖν [  
ἐντεῦθεν.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ  
ἄρα τοῦ κ[ι]θαριστο[ῦ Φανίου  
100 ταύτην λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακ[ας τὴν θυγατέρα  
101 τοῦ γείτονος νῦν ὄντος; ου.ο[  
(After line 101 the papyrus breaks off.)

\* \* \*

93 E.g. ἔπεσον [τότ' (Arnott) εἰς ἔρωτ' ἐγώ (Sandbach).  
99 ἐνταυθεν Berl. 100 θυγατέρα suppl. Sudhaus.

<sup>a</sup> The title of this 'feast-parade', at which young men and maidens of Ephesus annually celebrated the goddess Artemis with a dinner, was the Daitis, according to the late Byzantine *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Δαιτίς). See now C. Calamé, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, I (Rome 1977), 178–183.

<sup>b</sup> Euonymon was an Attic deme which appears to have been situated about four miles south of the city of Athens and just to



# KITHARISTES

To Ephesus. I fell [in love. You see,  
There was for Artemis [of] E[phesus  
A girls' parade and feast.<sup>a</sup> [  
I saw there Phantias's girl—[he's] from  
Euonymon.<sup>b</sup>

95

MOSCHION'S FATHER

Euonym means there

In Ephesus too?

MOSCHION

No, [he'd gone] from here,

[Collecting] debts.

MOSCHION'S FATHER

And so [you're] keen to marry

This [daughter] of the lyrist [Phantias],

Who's now our neighbour? [  
101

100

101

*(At this point the papyrus breaks off, leaving the rest of this conversation a matter merely for speculation. Moschion may have confessed that he had made this girl pregnant and promised to marry her; his father may have pointed out that the laws of Athens forbade its citizens to marry non-Athenian girls. It would be folly to take speculation further.)*

\* \* \*

the west of the southern slopes of Mount Hymettus (cf. Bölte in *RE* vii (1912), s.v. *Halai*, 2226.63 ff.; and J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (*Hesperia*, Supp. Vol. 14, 1975), 38). By a curious coincidence, which may well have been exploited by Menander in a lost part of the play, one of the five civic tribes in Ephesus was also named Euonym mean, according to legend having been originally founded by settlers from the Attic deme.

# MENANDER

## *Nine fragments quoted from Κιθαριστής by ancient authors*

### 1 (1 Körte, 281 Kock)

This fragment is a composite, assembled from several sources. Lines 1–7 (omitting 5A) are cited by Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 33. 13 (σύγκρισις πενίας καὶ πλούτου) with the heading Μενάνδρου. Lines 1–5 (to καθεύδειν) are introduced by Plutarch, *Moralia* 466a (*De tranquillitate animi* 3) with the words ἱκανῶς ὁ Μένανδρος ὑπομιμνήσκει (sc. that some people are believed to pass lives free from pain) λέγων ὥμην—καθεύδειν; he then paraphrases lines 6–7 and finally quotes lines 8–10. Line 8 on its own became a celebrated quotation; those who cite it include Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 34. 54 (περὶ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι βραχὺς καὶ εὐτελής καὶ φροντίδων ἀνάμεστος), introducing it as Μενάνδρου Κιθαριστῇ (the one identification of the play from which this fragment derives). The fragment also overlaps a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P. Turner* 5) which writes its text as if it were prose, coinciding exactly with Stobaeus' and Plutarch's version of vv. 1–5, adding a new line between 5 and 6, condensing the previously known version of vv. 6–9 into two lines, and finally adding three further but now badly mutilated lines.

ὥμην ἐγὼ τοὺς πλουσίους, ὦ Φανία,  
οἷς μὴ τὸ δανείζεσθαι πρόσεστιν, οὐ στένειν  
τὰς νύκτας οὐδὲ στρεφομένους ἄνω κάτω  
"οἷμοι" λέγειν, ἡδὺν δὲ καὶ πρᾶόν τινα  
5 ὕπνον καθεύδειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πτωχῶν τινα  
5A κακοπαθίαν ταύτην ἰδίαν [ἐ]λογιζό[μ]ην.  
6 νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς μακαρίους καλουμένους  
ὑμᾶς ὁρῶ πονοῦντας ἡμῖν ἐμφερῇ.

## KITHARISTES

### *Nine fragments quoted from Kitharistes by ancient authors*

#### 1

The various authors who quote different parts of this fragment are listed on the facing page; most important are Stobaeus (who alone identifies the play source, in 'On life, that it is brief, cheap and full of care') and Plutarch. A papyrus (*P. Turner* 5) contains a version of these lines possibly prepared for school use; in some places it abbreviates, in others it supplements the other surviving texts.

Rich people, Phantias, who never need	
To raise a loan—I used to think their nights	
Weren't fraught with sighs, with tossing up and down	
And cries of deep distress. I thought their sleep	
Was sweet and gentle—this, though, I believed	5
To be a private misery of the poor.	5A
But now I see that even so-called nobs	6
As rich as you have troubles just like us.	

---

2 μήτε Γ group of mss. (Plutarch). 3 ουουδε *P. Turner*. ανύκτω mss. SMA (Stobaeus), ανω καὶ κάτω CVJ (Plut.). 4 Above οιμο[ι] λεγειν (*P. Turner*) traces of (?) ]ηξεσθ[ as comment or correction. λέγων A (Stob.). δέ τινα καὶ GZab (Plut.). Above πρανν (sic) [τ]ινα (*P. Turner*) is written ωμην, repeating the governing verb from v. 1. 5A τασηδιαν originally *P. Turner* with correcting ντηνι written above; line omitted by Stobaeus. 6–9 *P. Turner* reduces these four lines to νννει δε κ[α]ι του[ς] μακαριους νμα[ς ο]ρω ποιουντας ημειν [. . . . .]ν εδοξω β[ι]ω. 7 πονούντας Geel: ποιούντας SMA (Stobaeus), cf. *P. Turner*.

## MENANDER

10 ἄρ' ἐστὶ συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος;  
 τρυφερῶ βίῳ σύνεστιν, ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ  
 13 παρέστιν, ἀπόρῳ συγκαταγερᾶσκει βίῳ.  
 οὐδεὶς [ἀλύπως γὰρ] βεβίωκ' ἄν[θρωπος ὦν.  
 ] κατε. .ηπτ.[ ]ρων  
 13 καταν[

8 Cited also by Diogenes Laertius 7. 68 (naming neither author nor play), by a schoolboy making a list of Menandrean monostichs (*P. Berlin* 16136 line 5, second century A.D.: first published by G. Manteuffel, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* (New York, Warsaw), 2 (1948) 87 ff. = *Pap.* VI. 5 Jäkel), and in the Byzantine collections of these monostichs (line 54 Jäkel); it is parodied also by John of Gaza at the beginning of his *Ecphrasis*, *Proem* 1.

9 σύνεστιν to βίῳ omitted in G<sup>1</sup> (Plutarch). 10 Line omitted by Y (Plutarch). 11 Suppl. Handley.

2 (2 Kö, 282 and 735 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 32a. 2 (πενίας ἔπαινος) cites the whole fragment with the heading Μενάνδρου Κιθαριστῆ. Plutarch, *Moralia* 524e (*De cupiditate diuitiarum* 4) may be paraphrasing lines 2–3 when he writes τήν γε χρηματικὴν (sc. πενίαν), ὥς φησιν ὁ Μένανδρος, εἰς ἂν φίλος ἀπαλλάξειεν εὐεργετήσας.

ΦΑΝΙΑΣ (?)

τὸ κουφότατόν σε τῶν κακῶν πάντων δάκνει,  
 πενία. τί γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἧς γένοιτ' ἂν εἷς  
 φίλος βοηθήσας ἱατρὸς ραδίως.

Given to Phantias first apparently by van Leeuwen.



## KITHARISTES

Can pain and life be brothers? Pain may haunt	
A life of luxury, sit by a life	
Of fame, grow old inside a life of need.	10
No man [on earth] has lived [without some pain].	11

*The papyrus continues with remains of one and a bit more lines, which are too mutilated to yield up their sense. The speaker here, obviously a poor man, could be the companion who entered with Phantias in the second scene of the Berlin papyrus (31 ff.), here commiserating with him after Phantias had received some bad news which we can no longer identify. One possibility would be Phantias' discovery that his daughter was pregnant.*

## 2

Stobaeus ('Praise of poverty'), identifying the source as Menander's *Kitharistes*. Plutarch may be paraphrasing lines 2-3 when he writes: Lack of money at least, as Menander says, can be eliminated by the beneficial service of one friend.

## PHANIAS (?)

The lightest of all ills is bothering  
 You—poverty! And what is that? One friend  
 Who helps can medicate it easily.

*Speaker and context cannot be identified with any degree of confidence, but here we could perhaps have part of Phantias' reply to what a companion said in fr. 1. In that case Phantias' point would have been that while poverty could easily be remedied, his own sufferings were less susceptible to medicine.*



# MENANDER

3 (3 Kō, 382 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 9. 17 (περὶ δικαιοσύνης), with the heading Μενάνδρου Κιθαριστῆ

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (?)

εἰ τοὺς ἀδικηθέντας, πάτερ, φευξοίμεθα,  
τίστιν ἂν βοηθήσαιοιμεν ἄλλοις ραδίως;

Given to Moschion first apparently by van Leeuwen. Lemma Μενάνδρου mss. MA, τοῦ αὐτοῦ m. S (the previous citation was Menander, *Karchedonikos* fr. 4), Κιθαριστοῖς SMA (but Κιθρ- M; corr. Meineke). Line 1 εἰ S: ἐπὶ M (ἐπὶ corrected to εἰ A) φευξόμεθα M.

4 (4 Kō, 284 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 9. 18 (περὶ δικαιοσύνης), with the heading ἐν ταύτῃ (sc. as fr. 3, which directly precedes),

τὸ μὴθὲν ἀδικεῖν ἐκμαθεῖν γάρ, ὦ Λάχης,  
ἀσπεῖον ἐπιτήδευμα κρίνω τῷ βίῳ.

5 (5 Kō, 285 K)

Athinaeus 12. 511a: καὶ Μενάνδρος δ' ἐν Κιθαριστῇ περὶ τινος μουσικευομένου λέγων φησί·

φιλόμουσον εἶναι < - - - > αὐτὸν παῖν  
ἀκούσματος, εἰς τρυφὴν τε παιδεύεσθ' ἀεί.

1 Lacuna posited by Sandbach.

## KITHARISTES

### 3

Stobaeus ('On justice'): in Menander's *Kitharistes*:

MOSCHION (?)

Father, if we avoid the victims of

A wrong, who else can we help easily?

*Moschion presumably attempted to persuade his father to let him marry Phantias' daughter, either in the scene whose beginning is preserved in the Berlin papyrus (53 ff.), or later in the play. Fragment 3 could be one of his arguments: Moschion had clearly wronged Phantias by raping his daughter.*

### 4

Stobaeus ('On justice', directly after fr. 3): in the same play.

Laches, I deem that learning never to

Do wrong's a civilised design for life.

*In later Greek comedy the name Laches is normally given to older men (see the introduction to Kitharistes); Moschion's father and Phantias' companion are the two known candidates in this play. If Laches was Moschion's father, the speaker here is unlikely to have been the son, for sons in Menander do not address their fathers by name.*

### 5

Athenaeus: Menander too in *Kitharistes* mentions a man playing a musical instrument, and says.

He's fond of music, quite [adores] good tunes.

And studies every day the primrose path!

*Phantias seems to be the subject of this fragment, and clearly its speaker is biased against him. Could this have been Moschion's father, opposing his son's projected marriage?*

## MENANDER

### 6 (6 Kö, 286 K)

Athenaeus 6. 247ef: μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ μὲν οἰκοσίτου . . .  
Μένανδρος . . . ἐν Κιθαριστῇ.

οὐκ οἰκοσίτους τοὺς ἀκροατὰς λαμβάνεις.

### 7 (7 Kö, 287 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 46. 9 (περὶ ἐλπίδος), with the heading  
Μενάνδρου Κιθαριστοῦ.

οὕτω τι πρᾶγμ' ἐστ' ἐπίπονον τὸ προσδοκᾶν.

lemma Κιθαριστοῦ ms. M: Κιθαριστῇ ms. A.

### 8 (8 Kö, 288 K)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 1. 7. 1 (ὅτι ἀλόγιστος ἡ φορὰ τῆς  
τύχης), with the heading Μενάνδρου Κιθαριστοῦ. The line  
appears also in the Byzantine collections of monostichs  
ascribed to Menander (874 Jäkel).

ὥς ποικίλον πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ καὶ πλάνον τύχη.

### 9 (9 Kö, 289 K)

Photius (2. 164 Naber) s.v. σκοῖδος· ταμίας τις καὶ διοικη-  
τήης· Μακεδονικὸν δὲ τοῦνομα, διόπερ Μένανδρος ἐν Κιθα-  
ριστῇ σκοῖδον Διόνυσον λέγει.

## KITHARISTES

### 6

Athenaeus: the word οἰκόσιτος (living at one's own expense / paying for oneself) is mentioned by ... Menander ... in *Kitharistes*:

*Your audiences aren't paying for themselves!*

*Phanias presumably is here addressed by somebody who claims that the lyre-player needed to bribe his audiences to listen to him.*

### 7

Stobaeus ('On hope'): from Menander's *Kitharistes*,

*So wearisome a thing is expectation!*

*Phanias, waiting for his wife? Moschion, hoping to marry Phanias' daughter? Or somebody trying to commiserate with one of these?*

### 8

Stobaeus ('That the swing of fortune is irrational'): from Menander's *Kitharistes*,

*How checkered and two-faced a thing is chance!*

*See also the facing page. Speaker and context are unknown.*

### 9

Photius defining σκoῖδος: a governor, steward; the noun is Macedonian, and so in *Kitharistes* Menander calls Dionysus a σκoῖδος.

*In Sophocles' Antigone 1152 the chorus call Iacchus, with whom Dionysus is often identified, 'the steward', but it would be unwise without further information to speculate about Menander's intentions here in using an unusual word.*

## MENANDER

*Four further citations and a papyrus fragment,  
whose attribution to Κιθαρίστης is highly uncertain*

Fragments 10 to 13 inclusive are quotations from Menander with no title specified, but they have all been tentatively assigned to *Kitharistes* (10 and 11 by A. Borgogno, *Hermes* 99 (1971), 274 f.; 12 and 13 by F. H. Sandbach, *Commentary* 418) solely because a character named Phantias is addressed certainly in three of them and conceivably in the fourth (13), if a doubtful conjecture is there accepted. *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3968 (O), a mutilated fragment of later Greek comedy, also mentions a Phantias; for this reason its first editor suggested its assignment to *Kitharistes*. All five attributions are possible, but they vary in probability. Although Phantias appears as a character only in *Kitharistes* among extant papyrus texts of Menander, it is unlikely that the name was used only in

### 10

*P. Vienna* 19999A (first published by Hans Oellacher, *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 3rd series (1939), 36 ff. = *Pap.* IV in Jäkel's edition of the monostichs) is a schoolboy's collection, written in the first century A.D., of 24 monostichs each beginning with a different letter of the Greek alphabet. The first runs

ὦ Φανία, μὴ πρόσεχε διαβολαῖς μά[την.

μά[την suppl. Oellacher.

### 11

The eighth monostich in *P. Vienna* 19999A runs

ῥάθυμος ἂν ᾗς, Φανία, πένης ἔσει.



## KITHARISTES

*Four further citations and a papyrus fragment,  
whose attribution to Kitharistes is highly uncertain*

this one play. A man named Phania is mentioned in three plays by Terence (*Andria* 928 ff., *H.T.* 169, *Hecyra* 458: the first two adapted from Menandrian originals) as a person implicated in the plot but not appearing on stage. When Cicero, *Ad fam.* 2. 13. 2 refers to a Phania as a 'witness from comedy', and Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 4 gives a lover named Phantias to a courtesan named Bacchis, the impression gained by the reader is that this name was not uncommonly given to old men in comedy. On the other hand, Alciphron's allusion (3. 11) to 'the wealthy Phantias' may well be a memory of Menander's *Kitharistes*, where Phantias was portrayed as rich (see fr. 1 and possibly also 11).

### 10

A schoolboy's exercise on a papyrus now in Vienna contains 24 disconnected lines of Menander, including

Don't waste your time on scandal, Phantias.

*If this line does come from Kitharistes, its speaker and context are unknown. Aspersions are made about and to Phantias in fragments 5 and 6, however, and there seems to have been at least one skeleton in Phantias' cupboard, if his own daughter was conceived as a result of a rape (see the introduction to Kitharistes).*

### 11

Fragment 10's papyrus also contains the following line, which is cited also in another papyrus and in Byzantine collections of monostichs (see opposite):

Be lazy, Phantias, and you'll be poor!

This line occurs in other collections of monostichs (*P. Bouriant* 1, first published by P. Jouguet and P. Perdrizet, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* (Leipzig), 6 (1906), 148 ff., line 17 = *Pap.* II. 17 Jäkel; line 698 of the Byzantine collections in Jäkel).

Fragment 11 ἀν or ἐὰν Byzantine collections: εαν the two papyri. ἦς *P. Vienna*, Byzantine collections: εση *P. Bouriant*. φανια *P. Vienna*: πλούσιος a trivialising variant in *P. Bouriant* and Byzantine collections.

12 (797 KT)

Strabo 10. 5. 6 (p. 486 Casaubon): παρὰ τούτοις (sc. the inhabitants of Ceos) δὲ δοκεῖ τεθῆναι ποτε νόμος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Μένανδρος·

καλὸν τὸ Κείων νόμιμόν ἐστι, Φανία·  
ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς οὐ ζῆ κακῶς.

προσέταπτε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ νόμος τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας κωνειάζεσθαι τοῦ διαρκεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν τροφήν.

This note (with its quotation) is substantially copied by Stephen of Byzantium s.v. Ἰουλῖς (Iulis was the chief town of Ceos). Parts of the fragment appear, garbled and without any attribution (καλὸν τὸ Κεῖον νόμιμον and ὁ μὴ καλῶς ζῶν οὐ ζῆ κακῶς), in Byzantine collections of proverbs (L. Cohn, *Philologus*, suppl. 6 (1882), 256 f., 263; O. Crusius, *ibid.* 267 f.).

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<sup>a</sup> The only plausible occasion for such an Athenian siege was directly after the battle of Marathon, when Miltiades raided Paros and some of the neighbouring islands. See A. M. Pridik, *De Cei insulae rebus* (Berlin 1892), 24 ff., and F. Lasserre's Budé edition of Strabo, book 10 (Paris 1971).

## KITHARISTES

*Context and speaker are unknown. It is curious, however, that other citers of this line corruptly substitute the word 'affluent' for the name 'Phanias' (sc. 'If you're lazy as well as affluent, you'll be poor'). In Kitharistes Phanias was certainly portrayed as a wealthy man (see the introduction to frs. 10–13), and this fact might help to explain the corruption in these other versions of the line, as well as giving indirect support to its attribution to this play.*

### 12

Strabo: These people (sc. the inhabitants of Ceos) apparently once had a law enacted, which Menander in fact recalls:

That Cean custom's splendid, Phanias —  
The man who can't live nobly won't live ill!

The law apparently ordered men over sixty to take hemlock, in order that there might be food enough left for the remainder.

*Strabo identified the occasion of this enactment as an Athenian siege which was raised before the new provisions were carried out.<sup>a</sup> Ceos (today called Kea or Tziá) is a small island in the Cyclades 13 miles east of Cape Sunium. In Menander's time this law was presumably no more than a folk memory, providing a source for pleasantries like that of the unidentified speaker here, who plays on the ambiguity in 'won't live ill' (is the negative attached to 'live' or 'ill'?). The reason for the pleasantry is now difficult to grasp. Admittedly the Phanias of Kitharistes suffered hard blows during the course of the play, such as his wife's apparent disappearance and the disgrace of his daughter's pregnancy. He could easily have expressed a feeling that life was no longer worth living, and so invited this riposte.*

# MENANDER

## 13 (544 KT)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 1. 31 (περὶ πολιτείας), with the heading Μένανδρον (ms. M) or τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ms. A: the previous extract being Menander fr. 543 KT),

ἔργον ἐστί, Φανία,  
μακρὰν συνήθειάν <τιν'> ἐν βραχεί χρόνῳ  
λῦσαι.

Lemma omitted in ms. Br. 1 Φανία Gataker: πανία mss. MA, παπία (which could be right) Br. 2-3 συνήθειαν ἐν βραχεί λῦσαι χρόνῳ mss.: corr. Arnott.

## P. Oxyrhynchus 3968 (O)

column i: line ends

1	]ει, Σωσία ᾠ]σπερ τυφλῷ ]ντω[.]· τί γάρ ] Παρθενί		] ᾠ θ[ε]οί, ᾠ]κήκοα κε]κτημένης ].
5	] ἐνθάδε ] λανθάνειν λανθά]νειν, τάλαν ] δυστυχῇ μ]έσου	20	] Σωσία ] πάνιν ].[ ]α· ].α· ]νθανε
10	]της τρέφειν τ]ρέφεις ] Φανίας ]λο. λαβεῖν ]. . λέγων	25	έλ]αβειν ].εσ.ν ]. .[ ]ι.ν[ ]λα[
15	προ]κόλπιον	30	].[

All the decipherments and supplementation here were made by the ed. pr., E. W. Handley, except in line 9 (Turner). Raised

Stobaeus ('On government'): with the heading 'from Menander' or 'from the same author' (sc. as the previous extract),

Phanias,<sup>a</sup> it's hard

To end long years of comradeship in a  
Few moments.

*Context and speaker are unknown, and hardly worthy of speculation since attribution of this fragment to Kitharistes is so questionable.*

<sup>a</sup> Or 'Daddy', if one accepts here an equally plausible conjecture.

*P. Oxyrhynchus 3968 (O)*

*This papyrus scrap contains the ends of the top 30 lines from one column (i) and the beginnings of the top twenty from the next (ii); the interval between i.30 and ii.1 could be anything up to 25 lines, since columns of 55 lines are not unknown. Only individual words survive from each line.*

*Column i:* 1 O Sosias, 2 just as to one blind, 3 what?, 4 (?) O Parthenis, 5 here, 6 to conceal, 7 [con]ceal? Dear me!, 8 unfortunate, 9 (?) middle, 10 to rear, 11 you rear, 12 Phanias, 13 to take, 14 (*a man*) saying, 15 breast-fold, 16 O gods!, 17 I've heard, 18 mistress, 20 O Sosias, 21 quite, 24 (?) conceal, 25 he took.

*Two speakers can be identified in column i: a slave named Sosias (addressed at 1, 20) and a woman ('Dear me!' in 7*

---

points have been identified at the ends of i.22 and i.23, and dicola suspected at the ends of i.1 and i.12.



# MENANDER

column ii: line beginnings

- 1     πρὶν [   
       ἐλεν.[   
       τί προ[   
       ἀλλ' ἐτε[   
 5     καὶ Θαῖς [   
       κάλλισ[τ   
       τουτ.[   
       μόνος [   
       το]ὺς παῖδ[as   
 10    ἰχθῦς ἀπ[   
       αὐτοὺς πε.[   
       λιβανωτ[ὸ   
       ἄπ[α]ν ὑπο[   
       ε. .[    ].ο.[   
 15    ηγ.[   
       τηρ[   
       ε.θη.[   
       παρα.[   
       παρι.[   
 20    .[

## KITHARISTES

*is confined to, and the oath in 16 is common with, women) perhaps called Parthenis, if the decipherment in 4 is correct. The woman seems to be listening to a tale or scheme, presumably outlined by Sosias, that affects her emotionally; it may involve concealment (6 f.) and a new-born baby that is being reared (10 f.; the breast-fold of a woman's dress was used for concealing recognition-tokens in Epitrepontes 382: see vol. I p. 430 n. 1).*

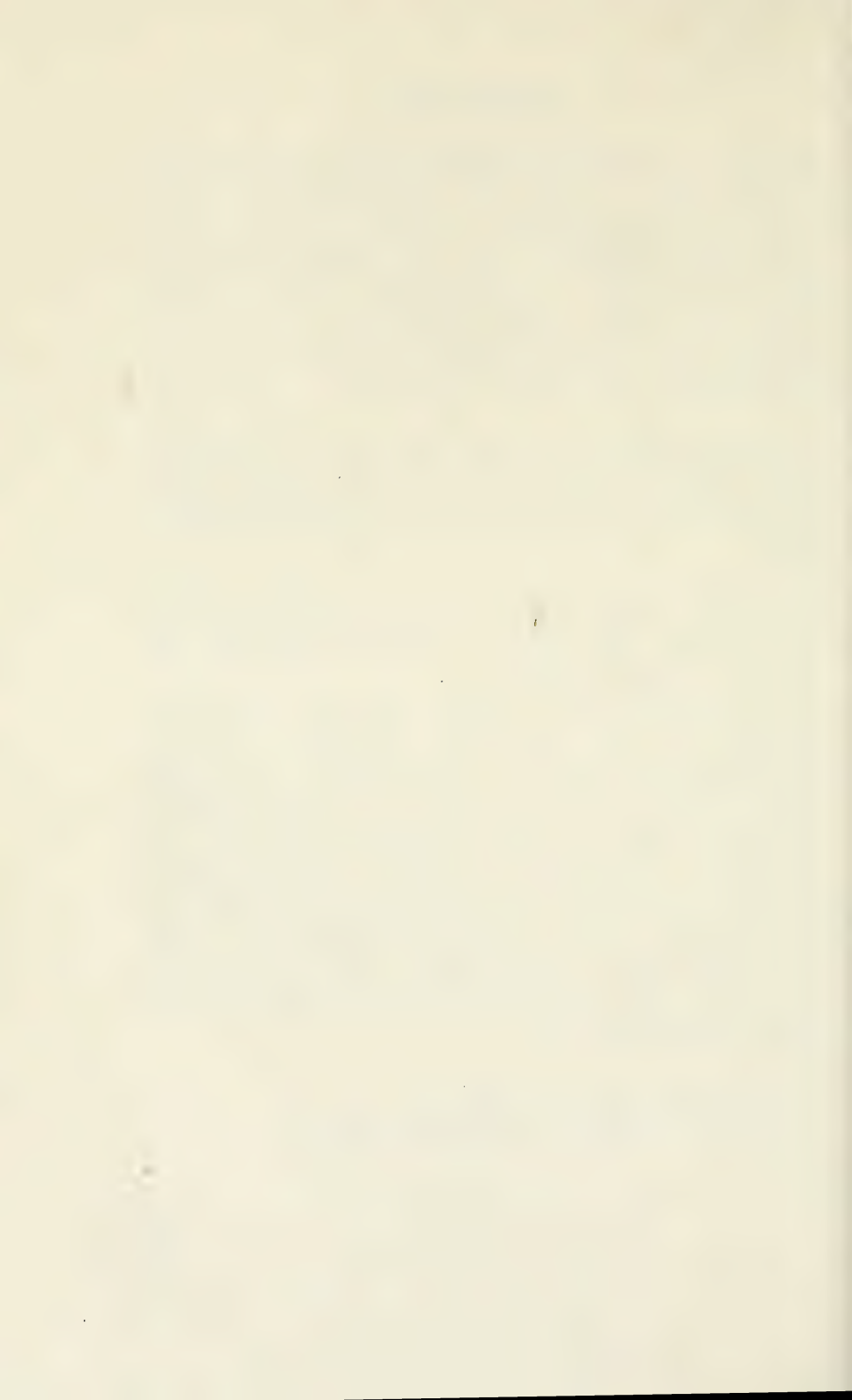
*Column ii: 1 Before, 2 Free or Will come, 3 What, 4 But, 5 And Thais, 6 Finest or No, thank you, 7 This, 8 Alone, 9 The slaves or The boys, 10 Fish, 11 Them, 12 Incense, 13 All.*

*Whether the same two speakers are involved in column ii is uncertain. The mentions there of 'fish' (10) and 'incense' (12) are puzzling.*

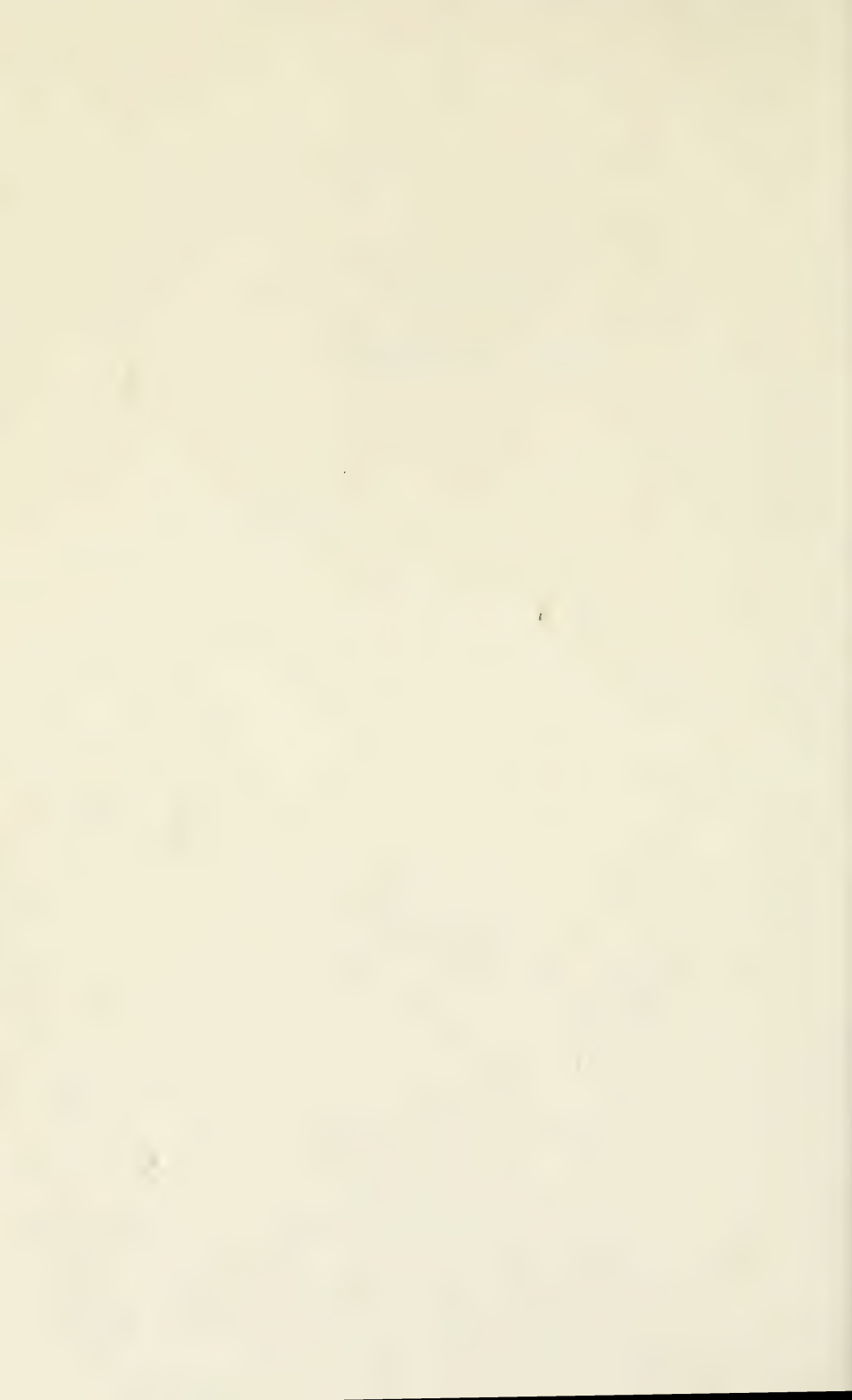
*The reference to a Phantias in i.12 inspired the papyrus' first editor tentatively to identify the source of this fragment as Kitharistes; this attribution can be supported by its possible references to a new-born baby, if Moschion's rape of Phantias' daughter in that play had resulted in a pregnancy.<sup>a</sup> Yet other characters named Phantias may have existed in lost plays of Menander,<sup>b</sup> and the mention of a Thais in ii.5 of the papyrus must provide a stumbling block to the attribution, since there appears to be no place for a hetaira with this name in what is so far known of this play's plot.*

<sup>a</sup> See the introduction to *Kitharistes*.

<sup>b</sup> See the introduction to fragments 10–13 above.



KOLAX  
(THE FAWNER)





## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

O.1 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 409 + 2655, the broken remains of four columns of a single papyrus of the second century A.D., which originally contained a selection of excerpts from the play (see below). Preserved in whole or part are lines A1-13, B14-53, C190-199, D200-224 and E225-255. First editions: of *P.Oxy.* 409, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 3 (1903), 17-26, with two photographs (pls. II, III, containing the ends of A2, A6, the scholion on B28, B34-53, C190-D203, D215-224, E225-237); of *P.Oxy.* 2655, E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 9-14, with two photographs (pls. II, III, containing D204-224 with D204-220 also at double size, E225-232, E238-255 and line ends of B33-53).

O.5 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 1237, scraps from presumably a complete text of the play, written probably in the third century A.D. It contains the ends of B52-69, the beginnings of B90-98 and five other unplaced scraps (here fr. 13a-e). First edition: A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 10 (1914), 93-95; no photograph is published.

O.25 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3534, a further tiny and unplaced (here = fr. 12) scrap of papyrus from the third century

A.D. First edition: E. W. Handley, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 50 (1983), 49 f. with a photograph (pl. I).

Fragments 1 to 11 are quotations in later authors (see Introduction to Volume I, pp. xxiv f.), 1 to 6 being firmly, but 7 to 11 only conjecturally, assigned to the play. Fragments 12 (= O.25) and 13 (a–e; from O.5) are unplaced scraps of papyrus. These fragments are printed after the end of the continuous play text, together with three testimonia to the play.

Of Menander's *Kolax* only about 50 lines can be printed entire, and another 90 or so with gaps, but their interpretation and relation to the plot are complicated by three unusual features.

(i) O.1, the main source of what survives, never contained a complete text of the play, but was simply a collection of excerpts. Some of the evidence for this is clearly visible on the papyrus: a one-line gap between A13 and B14 most probably marking the end of one excerpt and the beginning of the next,<sup>1</sup> the use of a διπλὴ ὠβελισμένη (a critical sign in the shape of >—) under line B53 and above C190 to signify the end of an excerpt, and the fact that one excerpt begins in the middle of a verse (C190), although the scribe aligned its opening word with the normal left margin. O.5, which must originally have held a text of the whole play, provides further proof, because it contains fragments of lines (B54–69, B90–98) that followed the end of one (B) of O.1's excerpts. There are several possible explanations for such an excerption of

<sup>1</sup> For a less probable alternative explanation see the text *ad loc.*

*Kolax*. In the third century B.C. a new form of performance became popular all over the Greek-speaking world, in which small groups of professional entertainers performed extracts from earlier Greek dramas, often setting them to music.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, Plutarch (*Mor.* 673a–b, 712b–d, 854a–b) notes that informal recitations of excerpts from Menander's plays became a stylish feature in symposia. Thirdly, Plato (*Laws* 7. 811a, cf. *Protagoras* 325e–326a) mentions the practice of memorising selected passages from drama as an important element in a boy's education at school. O.1 could have been designed for any of these three activities.

(ii) A second complication arises from the fact that Plautus appears to have adapted Menander's play for the Roman stage in his *Colax*. Only three short fragments (and a disputed fourth) survive from the Plautine comedy; although none of them exactly translates anything remaining from Menander's Κόλαξ, their subject-matter is closely related to that of the Greek original. Fr. I of *Colax* appears to be a personal or reported claim of the soldier to have possessed a golden goblet, matching at least the ambience of Κόλαξ fr. 2; the Plautine fr. II, like Κόλαξ C195 ff., introduces flatterers and kings together into one context, but the point is different; and the request for an invitation in *Colax* fr. III could be addressed by Gnathon's counterpart to Pheidias' with reference to the meal with whose organisation the latter

<sup>1</sup> Surviving examples are listed by B. Gentili, *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* (Amsterdam and Uithoorn 1979), 19 f. See now also Menander, *Perikeiromene* 796, and my introduction to that play.

seems in Menander to have been involved (Κόλαξ A10 ff., fr. 1).<sup>1</sup>

(iii) A final and much more difficult complication is provided by the Latin poet Terence's admission in the prologue to his *Eunuchus* (30–33 = testimonium II) that when adapting Menander's Εὐνοῦχος for his play, he introduced into it two characters from Menander's Κόλαξ, the fawning parasite (*parasitus colax*) and the braggart soldier (*miles gloriosus*). Although too little survives from either Menander's Εὐνοῦχος or his Κόλαξ for us to establish with certainty just what material Terence took from the latter play, those sections of Terence's *Eunuchus* in which the soldier Thraso and his parasite Gnatho are involved contain a great amount of material designed to amuse the audience without advancing the plot (232–253, 255–264, 395–433), as well as providing scenes which require four speaking actors (454–506, 785–811, 1025–1094). It is plausible to assume from these facts alone that Terence was largely telling the truth at *Eunuchus* 30–32, and that his replacement of a single character in Menander's Εὐνοῦχος by the *Kolax*'s duo of soldier and parasite forced him to stage several scenes where they were present with more than Menander's maximum of three speaking characters. Fortunately this assumption is supported by a little adventitious evidence: Κόλαξ frs. 3 certainly and 5 probably were adapted by Terence at *Eunuchus* 498 (cf. also 425 f.) and 238, while Donatus (on v. 228 = testimonium III) implies that parts

<sup>1</sup> See also V. Jarcho's discussion in M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri letterari greci e latini: Papyrologica lupiensia*, I (Galatina Congedo 1992), 325–330.



at least of *Eunuchus* 232–291 were taken from Menander's Κόλαξ.

The Terentian connection implies that Menander's Κόλαξ is likely to have been a play in which a soldier, accompanied by a self-interested fawner, was the rival of a free young man for the favours of an expensive *hetaira*. Such a scenario does not conflict with most of the information that can be gleaned from the surviving fragments of Κόλαξ. These provide some relevant characters: for instance a soldier named Bias (B32, lemma of fr. 2, name of speaker in fr. 12 v. 6) and a free young man named Pheidias (B19); but they point also to some differences from Terence's *Eunuchus*. In the Roman play Thais is a *meretrix* operating independently but in search of a patron; in Κόλαξ her counterpart seems to have been owned by a pimp (πορνοβοσκός B19, the speaker of E225–237). If the final scene of Terence's *Eunuchus* was adapted from that of Κόλαξ, as now seems generally agreed,<sup>1</sup> Menander's play would have had a surprising but characteristically unsentimental ending in which the fawner persuaded the free young man and the soldier to share the *hetaira* and thereby secured his own future prosperity (cf. Terence, *Eunuchus* 1058–1060, 1084–1088).

In the Roman play there is only one fawner or parasite, named Gnatho; the fragments of Menander's Κόλαξ, however, appear to provide evidence of two: one called Gnathon ('Jawman': B67, B68), the other Strouthias ('Sparrow': frs. 2 with its lemma, 3 and 10). The

<sup>1</sup> See now J. Barsby's edition of the play, commentary on Act V scene viii (forthcoming, Cambridge).



references to Strouthias clearly show that he was the soldier's companion and so the counterpart of Terence's Gnatho, but who then was Menander's Gnathon? There are two possibilities. Gnathon and Strouthias could have been different names borne by a single character, who adopted Strouthias as an alias when associating with the soldier, but used his real name Gnathon when talking to other characters such as Pheidias and Daos. In three plays of Plautus parasites exploited two names: Curculio in the play named after him adopts the name Summanus for a trick (413), while Ergasilus in *Captivi* has the nickname Scortum (69), and Gelasimus in *Stichus* refers to himself once (242) as Miccotrogus. Yet if Gnathon was the real name of the title figure in Menander's Κόλαξ and Strouthias only an assumed name, why then does one papyrus (O.10) identify the speaker of its line 5 as Strouthias rather than Gnathon? Accordingly it seems wiser to accept the alternative possibility and simply assume that in this play Bias and Gnathon were different characters, the latter being a parasite who had perhaps attached himself to Pheidias during the absence abroad of the latter's father.<sup>1</sup> A plot in which the two rival lovers were encouraged by their more imaginative lackeys into schemes aimed at winning the *hetaira* from the pimp by force or trickery would have offered plenty of scope for a New-Comedy poet, and made an ending in which she was shared between them piquantly apposite.

<sup>1</sup> Admittedly Menander's title is Κόλαξ in the singular, but that could be accounted for by the fact that Strouthias may have been the dominant character in the play (like the title figure of Terence's *Phormio*), and Gnathon by comparison only a subordinate figure.

The scanty remains of Κόλαξ yield a little further information about its characters and plot. Bias' career as a mercenary appears to have made him a successful and wealthy man (B15, B29, B37 f., B42–44, B50, E231). A dinner in celebration of the goddess Aphrodite (fr. 1) provided an appropriate highlight in a play focussing on purchased sex; if Pheidias was the speaker of A1–13, he may have been one of the celebrants. Several other characters with roles in the play are named—slaves named Daos (speaker at B67 and B92), Doris (see on B18) and perhaps Trachelion (see on fr. 12).

No hypothesis, didascalical notice, or cast-list is preserved for *Kolax*.<sup>1</sup> Although its date of production is nowhere recorded, the surviving fragments of text include three references to external events and people which place it between the late 320s and 300. At D205 the speaker mentions Astyanax, a celebrated athlete who won his event three times running at the Olympic games, and one of these successes was in 316 B.C. From fr. 2 we learn that Bias had served in Cappadocia, a large province of the old Persian Empire that stretched from the Taurus mountains in the south to the Black Sea in the north and the River Euphrates in the east; it was fought over by

<sup>1</sup> Identification of Menander's Κόλαξ as the source of the papyrus fragments listed above (O.5, O.25, excerpt B at least of O.1) rests on three facts: (i) B42–44 were already attributed to the play by Stobaeus (*Eclogae* 3. 10. 21), (ii) O.5 overlaps with O.1, (iii) O.25 has two character names (Bias, Strouthias) which are known from quotations of the play in Athenaeus 10. 434c (fr. 2) and Plutarch, *Moralia* 57a (frs. 3 and 2. 3–4). It is reasonable to assume that the other excerpts in O.1 also come from Κόλαξ, but the evidence for this is entirely circumstantial.

Alexander's successors, and Diodorus Siculus describes campaigns there with Greek soldiers in 322 (31. 19), 320 (18. 40), 315 (19. 57. 4, 60. 2) and 302/1 (19. 113. 4). Fr. 4 alleges that Bias had been the lover of some notorious *hetairai* in Athens, including two (Chrysis, Anticyra) who co-operated with Demetrius Poliorcetes in turning the Parthenon into a brothel in 304/3.

Previous editions of Κόλαξ number the surviving lines continuously and thus fail to indicate that its main papyrus source contains only excerpts. In this Loeb edition each of the certainly separate extracts (there may in fact be more of them than have yet been identified) is distinguished by a prefixed letter (A–E). The line numbers that then follow agree most closely with those in C. Austin's edition (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta*, Berlin 1973, pp. 171–179), but in order to avoid any duplication of numbers that might result from the discovery of O.5, I have added 100 arbitrarily to all line numbers from C190 (= 90 Austin) onwards. The numberings found in Körte's third edition (Kö), in Sandbach (S), and (where differing) in Austin (Au) are appended in brackets.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

Pheidias, a free young man in love with a *hetaira*  
 Bias, a wealthy soldier in love with the same *hetaira*  
 Strouthias, Bias' lackey, the fawner of the title  
 Daos, a male slave, perhaps Pheidias' attendant  
 A pimp, owner of the *hetaira*  
 A cook

## KOLAX

Gnathon, lackey to another character, possibly Pheidias  
(unless Gnathon is another name used by Strouthias)  
? Trachelion, another male slave, if this name is correctly  
identified

In the missing sections of the play other characters will  
have had speaking parts: including certainly the *hetaira*  
who was loved by both Pheidias and Bias, and possibly  
Doris, a female slave, and Sosias, the cook's slave, unless  
these were mutes. There was presumably also a chorus to  
perform the entr'actes.

## ΚΟΛΛΑΞ

### Excerpt A

*(This extract looks like an expository entrance monologue from early in the play, in which the speaker first describes past events of his life succinctly but, because of gaps in the text, puzzlingly. It seems that his father, like several others in Greco-Roman comedy—Demeas in Menander's Samia, Theopropides and Charmides in Plautus' Mostellaria and Trinummus, Demipho in Terence's Phormio—had gone abroad on business, leaving the speaker in an*

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(The identity of the male speaker is uncertain, but the substance of his remarks suggests a free young man, probably Pheidias.)

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ (?)

(1 Kō, S)

ἀπι]στον ἐν τῷ νῦν βίω  
 ]ων τῶν πατέρων γεγενημένος·  
 ]ς ὑόν, ὡς πᾶσιν δοκε[ῖ.

In the apparatus to this play, those conjectures and supplements whose author is not named were made by the edd. prr. of O.1 (*P.Oxy.* 409) and O.5 (*P.Oxy.* 1237), B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. A1–A13 O.1. A1 Suppl. Turner.



## KOLAX

(The Fawner)

### Excerpt A

*otherwise empty house (4-5). A young child of unspecified sex is then described as being under the control of guardians (6); this child may have been a girl with a role in a sub-plot. In line 8 the speaker succumbs to his present misery, perhaps a result of some success by the wealthier Bias in attracting the services of the hetaira that they both love. At line 10 he mentions an urgent duty, connected with a social occasion. This is most likely to have been the dinner in honour of Aphrodite Pandemos for which the cook of fr. 1 was hired; we do not know who was in charge of the arrangements (line 12), but the speaker seems to have been asked to receive (13) the participants in his own house.)*

PHEIDIAS (?)

suspicious] in my present life.

a child of [                      ] fathers.

] son, as all agree.

# MENANDER

- ] ἐπὶ πράξεις τινά[ς
- A5 τὴν ο]ϊκίαν ἐμοὶ κενήν  
τ]ὸ παιδάριον· [α]ὐτὸς τροφήν,
- (7) ]ν διοικηταῖς τισιν·  
ὦ κακό]δαιμον, τυχὸν ἴσως  
]ων ἀθλίως οὐ[τ]ω σφόδρα·
- A10 τοῦ]τό μοι π[ο]ητέον  
σ]ύνοδος ἡμῶν γ[ί]νεται
- (12) ] ἐστιάτωρ δεσ[π]ότης
- A13 ] δέχεσθαι <δ'> εἰ[πέ] μοι

(In the papyrus between excerpts A and B there appears to be a vacant line dividing the two, unless—a less likely alternative—excerpt A continued with the beginning of a further line, now torn off.)

## Excerpt B

(The second extract is a dialogue at first apparently between two characters. One is Pheidias, addressed by name at B19, and his remarks, at least in the earlier part of this excerpt, are easily picked out, since he seems to be presented as a self-pitying wimp. The person conversing with him in the earlier exchanges is harder to identify. He is certainly male (addressed as ἄθλιε B25), and this rules out Doris, mentioned in the corruptly unmetrical B18. This leaves most plausibly either a slave such as Daos,

A5 Suppl. Sudhaus. A6, A8 Suppl. Leo. A11 γε[.]νεται O.1  
(γ[ί]νεται Grenfell and Hunt). A13 <δ'> suppl. Arnott.

# KOLAX

	]	on some business ventures.	
	]	the house to me unoccupied	A5
	]	the young child, whose upbringing he	
Himself	[entrusted	]	to some guardians
	Oh! un]	happy me, perhaps	
	]	in such depths of misery.	
	this ]	is what I must do —	A10
	]	we have a gathering	
	]	host and M.C.	
	]	and told (?) me to receive.	A13

## Excerpt B

*(It is impossible to know where in the play comes the scene from which this excerpt derives, but if papyrus O.1 arranges its excerpts in their dramatic order, B will form part of an early scene subsequent to A. The extract begins with a conversation between Pheidias and probably Gnathon, but its first eleven lines (B14–24) are too badly damaged to allow translation line by line. Pheidias is the*

# MENANDER

who could have been Pheidias' personal attendant, or one of the two parasites, if we assume that there were two. As Gnathon's name is twice mentioned later in the scene, the second time in an address to him (B67, B68), it is perhaps safer to guess that it was he who was present with Pheidias at the beginning of this excerpt.)

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

B14 (15)

]α δέι το. .εντ[.].[. .]

B15

λα]μπρὸν ἢ δόξῃ μέγαν.

]ν· εἰ δὲ μή, τρίτον

]αινιαν· ἀγρίαν ἄγε

]αρα.

ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

νῦν ἐγὼ †Δωρὶς†

(20)

θαρρεῖ]ν, Φειδία.

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

θαρρεῖν; ἐμοὶ

B20

τῇ]ς ἐμ[ῇ]ς ταύτης μέλει

] εἴπη φλήναφον·

ὦ δέσποι]ν' Ἀθηνᾶ, σῶζε με.

ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

ἀ]κριβῶς τὰ πάτρια

(25)

το]ὺς αὐτο[ύ]ς, πόλεις

B25

]ουσι.

B17 *εγωδωρις* unmetrically at line-end; *δωρις* perhaps added here by the scribe because it had been omitted earlier in this line or somewhere in the next. B19 Suppl. Leo, Sudhaus.

*first speaker (B14–18). He describes somebody (? the soldier Bias) as glorious or mighty by repute (B15); this is followed by puzzling references to if not, a third (B16) and bring a wild (B17). The other man appears to respond with something like I [advise you] now to [cheer up], Pheidias (B18–19), but plausible supplementation of the lacuna there and interpretation of the surviving text are further bedevilled by the scribal error of a non-metrical insertion of the female slave name Doris after the word I. Pheidias' retort (B19–22) seems pathetic, but lacunae in our text also make it puzzling: Cheer up? This [ / ] of mine is my concern! / [ ] talk (or talks) utter rot! / [ Lady] Athena, rescue me! The depression which inspires Pheidias' prayer will presumably have sprung from his jealousy at Bias' success with the hetaira. The other speaker apparently now attempts a high-faluting explanation of the present situation, with references to exactly our ancestral customs (B23) and the same [ ], cities (B24), although the textual gaps blur the point of his remarks. The passage that follows allows line-by-line translation, despite the presence of some infuriating gaps. Bias' present wealth is contrasted with his past tribulations, and ascribed to some villainy or other.)*

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B20 Suppl. Leo.    B22 ᾠ suppl. Sudhaus.    B23 ]κρειβας  
 O.1: suppl. Grenfell and Hunt, corr. Körte.    B24 ποιεις O.1  
 before correction.    B25 μάτην γὰρ εὖσεβ]ούσι suppl. Sudhaus.



# MENANDER

## ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

τί λέγεις, ἄθλιε;

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

τοῖς] πονηροῖς τοὺς θεοὺς  
οὐδὲ]ν ἀγαθὸν πράττομεν·

ἀλλ' ὅδ' ὁ διμοιρίτης] φέρων αὐτός ποτε

(30)

θύλακ]ον, πήραν, κράνος,

B30

]ον, διβολίαν, κώδιον,

τ]ύχης ὄνος φέρει

ἐξ]αίφνης Βίας

]νεμον.

## ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

τὸν ἐνθαδὶ

(35)

... κακοδαι]μ[ο]νοῦντα πέρυσι[...].ει.[

B35

..... τ]ήν διατριβήν παρέ[χον]τα σ.[

απ[.....]ον· σκωπ[τ]ομένου[...].σπ[

ευπ[.... πεν]τήκοντα πα[ῖ]δες ἐχόμε[νοι

οπο[....].[.]ης ὅ[π]ισθεν. οἴχομαι.

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

(40)

..κ[.....] κατέπτηκέν ποθε[ν

B40

πόλ[ιν προδούς τι]ν' ἢ σατράπην ἢ στ[ρατόπεδον

π.[.....]νεστι δῆλός ἐστι.

B26 μάλλον βοηθεῖν τοῖς] suppl. Sudhaus. B27 Suppl. Leo. B28 ἀλλ' ὅδ' ὁ suppl. Körte, διμοιρίτης Grenfell and Hunt from the marginal scholion in O.1: διμοιρίτ(ης)· ὁ διπλοῦν λαμβάνων τῶν στρατιωτ(ῶν) μισθόν. B29 Suppl. Austin (cf. Men. *Karchedonios* 109). B30 διὰβολιαν O.1 before correction. B34 Suppl. Leo. B35 τ]ήν suppl.

# KOLAX

PHEIDIAS

Rascal, what do you mean? B25

GNATHON (?)

The gods [are more inclined to help (?) the] villains.  
 [By being good,] we don't do any good! [Yet this  
 [Chap here on double pay<sup>a</sup>] himself will carry  
 [His ] bag, lunch-pack, helmet,  
 ] lance, sheepskin rug — B30  
 this wretched] donkey hauls around —  
 ] suddenly [flush] — Bias,  
 ]

PHEIDIAS

This fellow here,  
 down on] his luck a year ago, [  
 ] providing [you] amusement [ B35  
 ] when he was jeered [  
 ] fifty servants, stick[ing] close  
 ] behind him. I'm washed up!

GNATHON (?)

[Why worry?] He has skulked away from something —  
 [Betrayed some] city, governor<sup>b</sup> or army — B40  
 [ ] is, quite clearly!

<sup>a</sup> Literally 'two-share man'. A marginal note on the papyrus, which enables us to supplement this word here, provides also its explanation: 'any soldier who receives double pay'.

<sup>b</sup> Literally 'satrap', originally a governor of a province in the Persian Empire, but the title was retained by Alexander and some of his successors after that empire was overthrown.

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Sudhaus, παρέ[χον]τα Turner. B37 πεν]τήκοντα and ἐχό-  
 με[νοι suppl. Sudhaus. B40 πόλ[ιν προδοῦς τι]ν' suppl.  
 Wilamowitz, στ[ρατόπεδον Sudhaus.

# MENANDER

## ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

πῶς;

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

- (45) οὐθεὶς ἐπλούτησεν ταχέως δίκαιος ὦν·  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συλλέγει καὶ φείδεται,  
ὁ δὲ τὸν πάλαι τηροῦντ' ἐνεδρεύσας πάντ' ἔχει.

## ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

- B45 ὥς ἄδι[κον εἶπας].

## ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

- ὁμνύω τὸν Ἥλιον,  
εἰ μὴ φέ[ρων ὁ παῖ]ς ὅπισθ' ἐβάδιζ[έ] μου  
τὰ Θάσ[ι]α, [καί τις] ἦν ὑπόνοια κραιπάλης,  
ἐβόω[ν ἂν αὐτῷ π]αρακολουθῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ·  
(50) “ἄνθρωπε, πέρυσι πτωχὸς ἦσθα καὶ νεκρός,  
B50 νυνὶ δὲ πλουτεῖς. λέγε, τίν' εἰργάζου τέχνην;  
τοῦτό γ' ἀπόκρ[ι]ναι. πόθεν ἔχεις τοῦτ'; οὐκ ἄπει  
ἐκ τῆς [ὁδοῦ 'τέ]ρωσε; τί διδάσκεις κακά;

B42–44 Kock fr. 294

B49–50 Kock fr. 731

B42 ταχέως O.1 (without accent), mss. of Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 10. 21: ταχὺ monostich 688 Meineke (*Fragmenta Comicarum Graecorum* 4, Berlin 1841, 360). B45 εἶπας suppl. Wilamowitz (*εἶπες* Grenfell and Hunt). B48 αὐτῷ suppl. Körte. B50 νυνὶ O.1: νῦν mss. of Symeon's lexicon (R. Reitzenstein, *Index Lectionum* (Rostock 1892/3), p. 8 s.v. ἦσθα) and of Eustathius's commentary on Homer, 1833.58. B52–53 O.1, O.5. B52 ὁδοῦ suppl. Sudhaus.

KOLAX

PHEIDIAS

How?

GNATHON (?)

No one made money fast by honest means.  
One man is thrifty and stocks up, another  
Waylaying someone vigilant for years  
Keeps all his loot.

PHEIDIAS

How [wrong]!

GNATHON

On oath I swear

B45

That if [this lad]<sup>a</sup> weren't walking at my heels  
With these from Thasos,<sup>b</sup> [and] no hint of booze,  
I'd follow [him]<sup>c</sup> and shout in our town centre<sup>d</sup>  
"Last year, sir, you were destitute, all bones —  
And now you're wealthy. Say, what was your calling?  
Answer that! Where's it come from? Move aside,  
Out of my [way]! Why do you teach what's evil?"

B50

<sup>a</sup> When Gnathon entered for this scene, he must have been closely followed by a slave carrying two or more containers of wine, perhaps for the forthcoming celebration in Pheidias' house (see A10–13 and fr. 1), to which doubtless Gnathon had been invited. In that case the slave could have belonged to Pheidias; could he have been Daos, a silent onlooker in this scene until B67?

<sup>b</sup> Sc. containers of wine from the island of Thasos, some 30 miles north east of Mount Athos. This wine was highly praised in antiquity: deep red in colour (Aristophanes fr. 364 Kassel-Austin), with a bouquet suggesting apples (Hermippus fr. 77 Kassel-Austin).

<sup>c</sup> Bias.

<sup>d</sup> Literally, the (Athenian ?) agora.

MENANDER

B53 τί λυσιτελεῖν ἡμῖν ἀποφαίνεις τὰδικεῖν;  
]με;

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

ναί.

(In O.1 excerpt B closes with B53; O.5 has lines B52–53 and preserves scraps of B54–69; then, after a gap of about 20 lines, it preserves the beginnings of some (B90–93, B96–97) of a further 9 lines; five unplaced scraps of O.5 are printed at the end of this play as fr. 13a–e).

ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

B55 (56)

] καὶ πέπρακ' ἄρα

]α ἐλπίδων

]εκκινουμένῳ

]νην δῆπον . . . .

(60)

]εχω· τὸ δ' ἐγκα[λείν

B60

]·μ'· ὥς οὐ δέον

]ω τὸν χρώμενον.

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

ἐ]μβεβρόντησαι πάλαι

]κλινων μάτην

(65)

τ]αῖς χερ[σὶν

B65

] τουτονὶ

]ς λαμβάνειν.

ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

[

]

ΔΑΟΣ

οὐκουν Γνάθω[ν

]οιγε.



# KOLAX

Why prove to us that profit comes from crime?"

B53

] me (?) ?

PHEIDIAS

Yes.

(At B53 O.1's second excerpt closes, probably with Gnathon in mid-speech; O.5's fractured text of the lines that immediately follow seems to indicate that Gnathon may have followed up his imaginary public attack on Bias with a direct question to Pheidias: perhaps something like '[Do you understand] me?', to which Pheidias simply answers 'Yes' (B54). The following lines are too broken to reveal more than a few contextless phrases: from Gnathon possibly and he's sold after all B55, hopes B56, presumably B58, I have (?), and to make this accusation (?) B59, it being needful B60, the man using B61; from Pheidias an apparently irritated you've long been a crackpot B62, turning (?) in vain B63, the hands (?) B64, this here B65, to take (B66). The main subject-matter of these exchanges cannot be identified, although B55 may perhaps be a reference to the pimp's having sold his hetaira to Bias.

O.5 brings Daos into the conversation at this point (cf. the note on B46); he mentions Gnathon (B67), and this is

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B53 λυσιτελει O.1. αποφαινες O.1: ]οβαινεις O.5.

B54-98 O.5. B54 Dicola before and after ναι in O.5.

B61, B66 Dicola after χρωμενον and λαμβανειν in O.5.

B65 Suppl. Sudhaus. B67 δαοσ written above ουκουν in O.5 to identify speaker.

# MENANDER

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ (?)

B69 (70) ὦ Γνάθων, [  
]μβ[

(After B69 there is a gap of perhaps between 16 and 22 lines, the figure depending on the number of lines in each column of the papyrus. Then O.5 preserves the openings of a few more lines.)

B90 (71) (?)  
περανοῦμεν.

(?)  
ω[

(71 Au) (?)  
τὸν πορνοβοσκό[ν

(?)  
B92 πάντων.

ΔΑΟΣ

πολυ.[

B93 (74 Kō, 73Au) α[, B94 [, B95 (75 Au) [, B96 (75Kō, 76Au) ευ, B97 (76Kō, 77Au) μα[, B98 (77Kō, 78Au) [ with traces of a marginal name in the left margin (θ.[ or β.[]).

B90, B91, B92 and B96 have paragraphi under the lines in O.5. B90 Dicolon after περανονμεν in O.5. B92 Dicolon before πολυ. and δαοσ written above it to identify speaker in O.5. Five other unplaceable scraps from O.5 are printed below as fragment 13.

## KOLAX

*followed by an address to Gnathon by Pheidias (B68). A lacuna of between about 16 and 22 verses now intervenes, before O.5 supplies the opening letters of some further lines (B90–98); four words or phrases can be made out, we'll carry it through (B90), the pimp (B91), and all answered by Daos with much (B92). One possibility is that a plan against the pimp—perhaps to kidnap the hetaira—is being devised. Five other tiny scraps from O.5, perhaps originally deriving from this scene, have been identified but remain unplaced; they are printed below as fragment 13.)*

Excerpt C

(Do the next 35 lines in O.1 form two excerpts (here numbered C190–199, D200–224) or just one? No clearly decipherable mark or space in the papyrus under C199 registers a break between extracts (but see the critical apparatus), and the characters involved could be the same throughout: a slave addressing his young master in C (cf. C191), the young master and either his slave or (more probably) another adviser such as Gnathon in D. Yet the shift of focus between C190–199 (the damage caused by *κόλακες*) and D200–214 (the need to be on guard against plots and attacks) seems both too abrupt and too irrational for a single continuous extract, and so the 35 lines are here separated. It seems reasonable to guess from the subject-matter of C190–199 that Daos is addressing Pheidias, but we cannot exclude the possibility that there are two free young men in this play (cf. e.g. *Dyskolos*), or two slaves serving Pheidias. The excerpt begins in mid-line.)

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

- C190 εἷς ἐστ[ι]ν, εἷς  
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάν[τ]' ἀ[π]όλωλε, τρόφιμε, πράγματα  
 (87) ἄρδην, [λ]έγω σοι . . . ν· ὅσας ἀναστάτους  
 πόλεις ἐ[όρ]ακα[ς, τ]οῦτ' ἀπολώλεκεν μόνον  
 ταύτας, ὃ νῦν δι[ὰ] τοῦτον ἐξεύρηκ' ἐγώ.  
 C195 ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποτ', ὅστις ἡγεμὼν  
 μέγας, σατράπ[ης], φρούραρχ[ο]ς, οἰκιστῆς τόπ[ο]ν,  
 (92) στρατηγός—οὐ [γὰρ] ἀλλὰ τοὺς τελέως λέγω  
 ἀπολωλότας—[νῦν τ]οῦτ' ἀνῆρηκεν μόνον,  
 C199 οἱ κόλακες. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοι.

## Excerpt C

*(If Daos is the speaker, he must be commenting here on some disaster that the fawner—Strouthias presumably—has produced for Pheidias. Its precise nature and timing are uncertain, although it probably had something to do with an intervention by Strouthias aimed at securing the contested hetaira for Bias.)*

DAOS (?)

*(addressing Pheidias)*

Master, there's one man, just one

C190

Who's caused this total holocaust in our

Affairs, I tell [you bluntly]. All the towns

You've seen laid waste have been destroyed by this

One thing, and it's through him<sup>a</sup> I've now discovered

This. All dictators, every mighty leader,

C195

State governor, commander, colonist<sup>b</sup>

Or general—I mean precisely those

Completely ruined—this one thing's destroyed

Them now: the fawners—they have caused their misery!

C199

<sup>a</sup> Presumably Strouthias.

<sup>b</sup> The three officials named are literally 'satrap' (see on B40), 'commander of a garrison' and 'founder of a city', in that order.

C190–199 O.1. C190 O.1 aligns its text with the beginnings of the preceding and following lines. Second εἰς suppl. Sudhaus but deciphered in an abraded text by Petersen. C194 δι[ὰ]

τοῦτον deciphered by Leo. C198 Punctuation before [νῦν by

Sandbach. C199 οὔτοι deciphered by Leo, δ' by Rea.

Under the beginning of C199 a paragraphus is inserted (but without the addition of a dicolon at its end); this may possibly be either a scribal error for, or the abraded remains of (cf. E. G. Turner, *Oxy. Pap.* 50 (1968), 13), a διπλή ὠβελισμένη.



Excerpt D

(See above, introduction to excerpt C. The first speaker is probably Pheidias, but the second cannot be identified with certainty; it could be Pheidias' slave Daos, but the imaginative suggestion of an attack that took the pimp off his guard might come better from Gnathon.)

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ (?)

- D200     σοβαρὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος· ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ποτε  
(96)     οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε.

ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

π[ᾶ]ς τις ἂν κρίνας κακῶς  
εὖνουν ὑπολάβο[ι] τὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντά σοι.

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ (?)

- (98 Kō, S)     κἂν μὴ δύνηται[ι];

ΓΝΑΘΩΝ (?)

πᾶς δύναται κακῶς ποεῖν,

- (99 S)     ἂν μὴ φυλάττη. τὸν σφόδρ' ἰσχυρὸν [

- D205     . [. ]. θεν .ιον Ἀστυάνακ[το]ς ὑ[πτίου

D204 Punctuation by Arnott. D205–213 Suppl. Turner, apart from D205 ὑ[πτίου Handley, D211 ἀντιβλέπ[ει Arnott (ἀντιβλεπ[ deciphred by Arnott, Austin). D205 At the bottom of the column (under E237) O.1 has a scholion on Astyanax: ] Ἀστυάνακτος τοῦ Μιλησίου [Ἀσ]τυάν[ακ]τος πολλοὶ σφόδρα [τ]ῶν κωμωδιογρ(άφων) μέμν[η]ντ(αι). ἐγένετο γ(ὰρ) παγκρατιαστ(ῆς) κρά[τ]ιςτος τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ἡγῶ[νί]σατο δ(ὲ) κ(αὶ) πνυγμῇ. Ἐρατοσθένης (FGrH 241 F 8) δ' ἐ[ν τῷ] τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικ(ῶν) προσθεῖς (corr. C. Wendel, *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokritscholien*, Berlin 1920, 107 and n. 1: προσθεῖς O.1) ῥισ Ὀλυμπι(άδα or άδι)

## Excerpt D

(Excerpt C provided a slave advising his master about the iniquity of lackeys; excerpt D runs on parallel lines, but now we have a more flamboyant character, most plausibly identified as Gnathon, instructing his man how to overcome an enemy. If Pheidias here too is the pupil, the enemy must be (i) the title figure, (ii) the pimp, or most probably (iii) the soldier Bias himself. Holes and abrasion in the papyrus, together with our ignorance of the preceding context, make the sequence of ideas at times incoherent, but Gnathon's main suggestion seems to be that Pheidias' best chance of 'wiping out' his opponent (hyperbole doubtless for defeating him in a fight) will come if he can catch him off his guard.)

PHEIDIAS (?)

Your discourse was imposing, but I don't  
See what its point was.

D200

GNATHON (?)

All bad judges would  
Assume the schemer's<sup>a</sup> well-disposed to you.

PHEIDIAS (?)

Though he lacks power?

GNATHON (?)

Anyone can harm you, if  
You're off your guard. The very strong [

<sup>a</sup> If Pheidias and Gnathon are the two speakers, the schemer must be Strouthias, Bias' attendant and the fawner of the title.

φ(ησίν). Ἄ[στ]νάναξ ὁ Μιλήσιος ζ (so O.1: ? an error for Γ: so Jacoby) τὴν περίοδον ἀκονιτεῖ.

κ[α]τακειμένου, δοίδν[κι .]. . . .τα[.]. . . .]καις

(102 S) τ]ήν ῥίνα συντριψαιμ. .[.]μ[.]. . . .]αν,  
ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ πέντε μνα[ῖ]ς κατεσ[κ]ευα[σμένος  
ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ἤκων, ἔν' ἐκείν[. . . .]κυ[

D210 οὐ[κ ε]νπόρως ἂν τοῦ[τ' ἐ]πόησε τ. . . .αμ. .[  
φυ[λ]άττεται [γὰρ .]εξε.[.]λεινε· ἀντιβλέπ[ει

(107 S) . . . τεαλ[.]ς οἶδεν ὄντα· κα[ῖ] νε. νσ. . .[  
. . . . .] φυλ[ά]ξεταί σ' ὁμοίως [. . .] .α[  
]ει[ ]πι. θυρα[ ] [

D215 .[. . . .] .[.] σαυτοῦ [το]ὺς φίλου[ς

(100 Kō) .[ ] πρὸς βίαν με.[. . .]πησ.[.]αν[

(112 S) τ. .[.]πεις τι χωρήσει γὰρ αὐτ[ό]θ[εν  
μ[ε]ταπέμψεθ' [ἐ]τέρους [. .] στρατ[ιώτας, ἀλλ' ἴσως  
οὐ σ' ἄρα φυλάξει. παῖδες. ἐκτριβή[σεται

D220 ἦτοι ποθ' οὗτος ἢ σύ· πιστευθεῖς δ[ὲ] σὺν

(105 Kō) ὑπεναν[τί]ον τε μηθὲν ὧν ποεῖ[ς ποεῖν

D210 του[. . .]ποησα O.1: tentatively corr. Arnott.

D215 Suppl. Turner. D217 τι χωρήσει deciphered by  
Turner, αὐτ[ό]θ[εν] Arnott. D218, D220 ἀλλ' ἴσως and δὲ  
σὺν suppl. *exempli gratia* Arnott (δὲ already Sudhaus).

D219 Suppl. Jensen (ἐκτριβο[ί]μεθ' ἂν Grenfell and Hunt also  
possible).

<sup>a</sup> See the introduction. The papyrus here has a useful scho-  
lion: 'Very many comic poets mention Astyanax of Miletus. He  
proved himself the leading pancratiast of his day. He competed  
also at boxing. Eratosthenes, adding the date 316 B.C. in the [(?)]  
book of his *Olympic Victors*, says "Astyanax of Miletus: six (so the

## KOLAX

] When Astyanax<sup>a</sup> lies on D205  
 His back, [you could ] smash his nose [ ] with  
 A pestle [  
 But not the man who's paid five hundred drachmas  
 And shows up just for this,<sup>b</sup> to [ ] that [  
 He'd not have done it easily [ D210  
 He's on his guard [ ] looks eye to eye  
 ] knows that he (?) is [  
 ] he'll guard against you just like [  
 ] door [  
 ] his (?) friends [ D215  
 ] with violence [  
 ] will come at once (?) [  
 He'll send for other soldiers, but perhaps  
 He'll not repel you. Servants!<sup>c</sup> Either he  
 Or you will be wiped out. But if you're trusted, D220  
 And don't behave at all abnormally,

papyrus: perhaps an error for 'three') times (sc. victor) in the four-year cycle without having to fight." Athenaeus (1. 413ab) says that Astyanax won three times in successive Olympics. Pankratiasts competed in a brutal form of physical combat, combining features of wrestling and boxing which brought it closer to Oriental martial arts than to traditional European types of prize-fighting: see my commentary on Alexis, introduction to *Pankratiastes* (Cambridge 1996/1997).

<sup>b</sup> A man hired presumably to rough somebody up or even kill him.

<sup>c</sup> At this point presumably the speaker knocks on somebody's door and calls for the slaves inside to open it. Cf. for example *Dyskolos* 461–464, 911 f., 916, *Epitrepontes* 1076 f., *Misoumenos* 607, *Perikeiromene* 188, 261.

# MENANDER

- (117 S) δόξας, ἔχεις τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀφύλακτον, ἔκτοθεν  
τῶν πραττομένων, τῆς οἰκίας· ὃν [δ' ἂν τρόπον  
D224 β[ο]ύλῃ, διοικηθήσεται τὰ λοιπά σοι.

## Excerpt E

(The subject-matter here clearly identifies the speaker as the pimp who owns the hetaira loved by both Pheidias and Bias.)

### ΠΟΡΝΟΒΟΣΚΟΣ

- E225 χ]οῦτ[ος .].χ. .τ.ς φανερός; οὐ λιμοὶ [  
(110 Kō) ἔχον[τ]ες ἐν τ[αῖ]ς χερσίν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲ ἔν,  
(122 S) ὦν ἔσθ' ὁ γείτων. ἀλλ' ἐὰν αἴσθηθ' ὅμ[ως,  
πρόσεισιν ἐξήκ[ο]νθ' ἑταίρους παραλαβ[ών,  
ὅσ]ου[ς] Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦλθεν εἰς Τροίαν ἔχω[ν,  
E230 βo]ῶν, ἀπειλῶν "ἂν σε μή, μαστιγία,  
(115 Kō) . . . . π]έπρακας πλέον ἔχοντι χρυσίο[ν]."  
(127 S) . . . . .τι[.]αρα πωλῶ; μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα [θε]οὺς,  
. . . .]όμ[ε]ν[ο]ς διὰ τοῦτον. ἡ μία λαμβάνει  
ὅσον οὐχ]ὶ δέκα, τρεῖς μνᾶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας  
E235 παρὰ τοῦ] ξένου. δέδοικα δ' οὕτω λαμβάνειν.  
(120 Kō) ἐκ τῆς ὁ]δοῦ γὰρ ἀρπάσονθ', ὅταν τύχη,  
(132 S) αὐτήν.] δικάσομαι, πράγμαθ' ἔξω, μάρτ[υρας

D223 Suppl. Sudhaus (ὃν deciphered by Petersen).

D224 Traces of a διπλῇ ὠβελισμένη under the beginning of the line in O.1. E225 χ]οῦτ[ος suppl. Turner. E233 Corr. Leo: *ἡνιαλαμβανεν* apparently O.1. E234 Suppl. Leo. E236 Suppl. Sudhaus. E237 αὐτήν suppl. Robert, μάρτ[υρας Leo (*μάρτ[υρες* Grenfell and Hunt).



## KOLAX

You'll have the fellow<sup>a</sup> off his guard, [away  
[From] his activities, his house! And you'll arrange  
The other matters in whatever way you wish!

D224

### Excerpt E

(The speaker contrasts poor clients (like Pheidias) who might come with friends and break into his establishment (compare Aeschinus in Terence's *Adelphoe*) and wealthy ones (presumably like Bias) who pay very high prices.)

## PIMP

And he—a clear [                ]. They're the hungry poor,      E225  
Aren't they, with [cudgels] in their hands, that's all!  
He's<sup>b</sup> close to them! But still, if he gets wind,  
He'll come with sixty mates that he's enrolled —

The number that Odysseus took to Troy<sup>c</sup> —  
 With yells and threats: “Blackguard, if I don’t get you,  
 Who’ve sold her to a man who has more money!”

E230

] why trade her? By the twelve great gods<sup>d</sup>

] it's not through him! The one girl earns

Almost as much as ten — three minas every  
Day from the soldier. I'm afraid of so

Much income. They<sup>e</sup>ll abduct her, given the chance.  
I'll be in court, have bother, witnesses

<sup>a</sup> Bias presumably.      <sup>b</sup> Pheidias presumably.

<sup>c</sup> *Iliad* 2. 637 says that Odysseus came to Troy with twelve ships and presumably several hundred soldiers, but Menander here may be confusing this with the one ship that on the way home from Troy survived the Laestrygonian debacle (*Odyssey* 10. 130–132). <sup>d</sup> The twelve gods of Olympus. In the Attic

10. 130–132). <sup>d</sup> The twelve gods of Olympus. In the Attic canon they were paired: Zeus, Hera; Posidon, Demeter; Apollo, Artemis; Ares, Aphrodite; Hermes, Athena; Hephaestus, Hestia.

<sup>e</sup> Pheidias and his friends presumably.

- ..[  
 η βουλε. ....[  
 E240 ε.ν. .τε κειμεν[  
 ᾧ βούλεται τις τ[  
 τὰς τετταράκον[τα  
 ξέ[ν]ον [  
 ου[.]αν[.].[  
 E245 ἐμοῦ δὲ το. .ενε[  
 ουτ. .οινειστε[  
 καὶ τὰς θεραπαιν.[  
 ἦν γὰρ ε[.] ἔλαττον [  
 εἴσω παρελθὼν τ[  
 E250 .]. .ον οὗτος ὁ στρ[ατιώτης  
 ἀλαζονευθησθ[  
 επ. .ου.μεν σοιτ.  
 .δον[.]αοσεστιο  
 .].[.].ον[ ].α. .εσουν.[  
 E255 ].[ ]. . .ευ[

\* \* \*

*Six fragments of Κόλαξ,  
quoted by ancient authors*

1 (1 Körte and Sandbach)

Athenaeus 14. 659d: Μένανδρος ἐν Κόλακι τὸν τοῖς τετρα-  
 δισταῖς διακονούμενον μάγειρον ἐν τῇ τῆς πανδήμου  
 Ἀφροδίτης ἑορτῇ ποιεῖ ταυτὶ λέγοντα·

(After E237 this papyrus of extracts contains the openings of the next eighteen lines; in the first fifteen are neither words nor marks that would prevent our interpreting them as a continuation of the pimp's speech. Yet too little of each line remains for any continuous or coherent sense: or or than wish E239, lying (?) E240, for whom or what one wishes E241, the (*feminine*) forty E242, soldier or stranger or guest E243, but me or of me E245, and the slave girls E247, for . . . was . . . less E248, having gone (*masculine*) by or to or in E249, this soldier (?) E250, you (*plural*) are humbugs E251, to you E252, is E253.)

\*       \*       \*

*Six fragments of Kolax,  
quoted by ancient authors*

1

Athenaeus: Menander in *Kolax* makes the cook who is serving the fourth-day celebrants in the festival of Aphrodite Pandemos (= Of All the People) utter these words:

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E242 Corr. and suppl. Turner: τεττερακον[ O.1.

E243 Suppl. Turner.       E249 Corr. Arnott: εσω O.1.

## MENANDER

### ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΣ

- σπονδῇ. δίδου σὺ σπλάγχν' ἀκολουθῶν. ποῖ βλέπεις;  
 σπονδῇ. φέρ', ὦ παῖ Σωσία. σπονδῇ· καλῶς.  
 εὔχου. θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις εὐχόμεθα  
 Ὀλυμπίασι, πᾶσι πάσαις—λάμβανε  
 5 τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τούτῳ—διδόναι σωτηρίαν,  
 ὑγίειαν, ἀγαθὰ πολλά, τῶν ὄντων τε νῦν  
 ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν πᾶσι. ταῦτ' εὐχόμεθα.

2 φερεωπλειωωσια ms. A: corr. Heringa. καλω A: corr. Musgrave.  
 7 ὀνησιαν A: corr. Casaubon.

### 2 (2 Kō and S)

Athenaeus 10. 434bc (citing the whole fragment): ἔπινε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πλείστον . . . Μένανδρος ἐν Κόλακί φησι, and 11. 477e (citing lines 1–2): κόνδν· ποτήριον Ἀσιατικόν. Μένανδρος Κόλακι,

## KOLAX

### COOK

Pour! Follow, and give me the heart and lungs. Where  
 are  
 You looking? Pour! Come, Sosias boy, pour! That's fine.  
 Pray! Let us pray to all the Olympian gods,  
 And goddesses—meanwhile, you take the tongue—  
 That they vouchsafe to everyone protection,  
 Health, all that's good, and profit from the good  
 Things now before them. Let us pray for that.

5

*If we combine the hints provided by Pheidias' remarks at A10–13 and the pimp's at E227–237 with the information given by this fragment and Athenaeus' introduction to it, we can deduce that a major (? and final) feature of the plot was a feast for young men who met on the fourth day of the month in order to celebrate Aphrodite and enjoy the favours with which she was associated. Doubtless Pheidias was one of the young men involved, and some of the diners were the 'mates' that the pimp feared he might enrol.*

*The fragment itself is a speech by the man hired to kill and cook the sacrificial animal for the occasion. He informs a slave named Sosias, who could have been owned by himself or by one of the other characters, about the conventional order of procedure on these occasions. Three libations of wine were poured initially, and the heart and lungs of the animal that had been sacrificed, along with the liver and kidneys, were eaten as a ritual preliminary to the meal. The tongue, on the other hand, was a delicacy that the cook wished to appropriate for himself.*

## 2

Athenaeus 10: Alexander the Great used to drink a very great deal, . . . Menander says in *Kolax*,



# MENANDER

ΒΙΑΣ

κοτύλας χωροῦν δέκα  
ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κόνδν χρυσοῦν, Στρουθία,  
τρὶς ἐπέπιον μεστόν γ'.

ΣΤΡΟΤΘΙΑΣ

Ἀλεξάνδρου πλέον  
τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας.

ΒΙΑΣ

οὐκ ἔλαττον, οὐ  
5 μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.

ΣΤΡΟΤΘΙΑΣ

μέγα γε.

See also Plutarch, *loc. cit.* at fr. 3 below (citing part of lines 3–4). 1–2 δέκα ἐν and στρουθία ms. A at Ath. 10: δέκα καὶ ἐν and στρουθίου A at Ath. 11. 3 ἔπιον A and Epitome at Ath. 10: corr. Meineke: 3–4 Corr. Bentley: πέπωκας τοῦ βασιλέως A and Epitome at Ath. 10, τοῦ βασιλέως πλέον mss. of Plutarch. The correct part-divisions were first established in Daléchamp's Latin translation of Athenaeus.

3 (3 Kö and S)

Plutarch, *Moralia* 57a (*Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 13): καθάπερ ὁ Στρουθίας συμπεριπατῶν (corr. Körte: ἐμπεριπατῶν mss.) τῷ Βίαντι καὶ κατορχούμενος τῆς ἀναισθησίας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις· Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως πλέον πέπωκας (an inaccurate citation of fr. 2, lines 3–4: see above), καὶ

ΣΤΡΟΤΘΙΑΣ

γελῶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Κύπριον ἐννοούμενος.

Corr. Cobet: γέλωτι and ἐνηθούμενος mss.

## KOLAX

BIAS

Strouthias, in Cappadocia

Three times I drained a beaker made of gold,  
Brimful. It held five pints.

STROUTHIAS

You've drunk more than

King Alexander!

BIAS

On my oath, it was

No less!

STROUTHIAS

Yes, that's a lot!

5

Athenaeus 11, defining the *κόνδυ* (beaker) as 'an Asiatic cup', again cites (with the heading 'Menander in *Kolax*') the first two lines of this fragment, while Plutarch (see fr. 3 below) quotes Strouthias' remark in lines 3-4.

*A conversation between the boasting soldier and his fawning lackey probably from the scene adapted by Terence in Eunuchus 391-453. On the allusion to Cappadocia, see the introduction to this play. 'Five pints' translates Menander's 'ten κοτύλας'; in Athens a κοτύλη was about nine twentieths of a pint. It must, however, be remembered that ancient Greeks did not drink their wine neat, but mixed it with varying proportions of water.*

## 3

Plutarch: just like Strouthias when walking around with Bias and taking advantage of the latter's stupidity by his plaudits: 'More than King Alexander have you drunk,' and

STROUTHIAS

I'm laughing, thinking of that joke against  
The Cypriot.

4 (4 Kö and S)

Athenaeus 13. 587d: Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κόλακι τάσδε καταλέγει ἐταίρας·

ΣΤΡΟΤΘΙΑΣ (?)

Χρυσίδα, Κορώνην, Ἀντικύραν, Ἴσχάδα  
καὶ Ναννάριον ἔσχηκας ὡραίαν σφόδρα.

5 (7 Kö and S)

Athenaeus 7. 301d: ἡλακατῆνες· . . . εἰσὶ δὲ κητώδεις, ἐπιτήδαιοι εἰς ταριχείαν. Μένανδρος Κόλακί (corr. Clericus: κολωσι A) φησι:

κωβιός, ἡλακατῆνες,  
κυνὸς οὐραῖον

ἡλακατῆνες καὶ κυνὸς ms. A here, but in citing the same words from Mnesimachus (fr. 4. 35–36 Kassel-Austin) immediately before and at 9. 403b the same ms. correctly omits the unmetrical καὶ.

<sup>a</sup> See S. M. Goldberg, *Understanding Terence* (Princeton 1986), 110 and n. 22.

<sup>b</sup> It is just possible, however, that 'Nannarion' here was a pet-name for the mother Nannion herself; in that event we must assume that Bias was presented in this play either as middle-aged or as capable of falling for a much older woman.

## KOLAX

*Plutarch first cites part of fr. 2 inaccurately, then quotes another remark by Strouthias referring back to something said earlier in the play, probably about the 'Cypriot bullock' of fr. 6. It is likely that Terence found these Cypriot allusions impossible to translate for a Roman audience when he adapted the relevant sections of Menander's Kolax in his Eunuchus, and so he replaced them with a joke about a Rhodian (419–426) and a later comment (497 f.: Gnatho: Ha ha ha! Thraso: Why're you laughing? Gnatho: It's what you just said — / And when the joke about the Rhodian comes to mind).*<sup>a</sup>

### 4

Athenaeus: Menander in *Kolax* lists these *hetairai*,

STROUTHIAS (?)

Chrysis, Corone, Anticyra, Ischas and

Most beautiful Nannarion—you've had them all.

*This is likely to be Strouthias again, buttering up the soldier by alleging that Bias had made love to the leading hetairai of his day. Chrysis and Anticyra were mistresses of Demetrius Poliorcetes (see p. 160); Corone was, and Nannarion may<sup>b</sup> have been, daughters of Nannion, a celebrated hetaira of the preceding generation.*

### 5

Athenaeus: ἡλακατῆνες (an unidentified kind of tuna): . . . they are enormous, and suitable for pickling. Menander says in *Kolax*,

Goby and tunnies,

And a slice from a dogfish's tail.

*This fragment is couched in anapaestic dimeters, a metre found elsewhere in Menander (for instance Leukadia, fr. 1),*

## MENANDER

### 6 (8 Kö and S)

A compilation of Greek proverbs based on Zenobius (2. 82: E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris 1868), p. 366):

βοῦς Κύπριος,

ἴσον τῷ "σκατοφάγος εἶ". λέγονται γὰρ οἱ βόες ἐν Κύπρῳ σκατοφαγεῖν. μέμνηται ταύτης (sc. τῆς παροιμίας) Μένανδρος ἐν Κόλακι. Cf. Diogenian 3. 49 Leutsch-Schneidewin.

*Five quotations in ancient authors assigned to  
Κόλαξ with varying degrees of probability*

### 7 (745 Körte-Thierfelder)

Plutarch, *Moralia* 547c (*De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* 21): ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν κολακεύοντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ γαργαλίζουσι καὶ φυσῶσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ κακοήθως οἷόν τι δέλεαρ μικρὸν εὐλογίας ὑποβάλλοντες ἐκκαλοῦνται τὴν περιαιτολογίαν, οἱ δὲ προσπυνθάνονται καὶ διερωτῶσιν, ὥς παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ τὸν στρατιώτην, ἵνα γελάσωσιν·

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<sup>a</sup> See especially H. G. Nesselrath, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie* (Berlin and New York 1990), 267–280.



but much more popular in early fourth-century comedy, where long speeches in it, often about food, seem to have been delivered as recitatives.<sup>a</sup> This brief fr. of Menander in fact appears to plagiarise a section of one such recitative (fr. 4. 35–36 Kassel-Austin) by Mnesimachus, a mid-fourth-century comic poet, and it is possible that Menander was here deliberately reviving an obsolete mode in order to give variety to a long speech by either the cook or one of the two parasites (cf. Gnatho's remarks in Terence's *Eunuchus* 255–264).

## 6

[Zenobius]:

Cypriot bullock,

Equivalent to 'You eat shit'. Bullocks in Cyprus are said to eat dung. Menander mentions this proverb in *Kolax*.

See my comment on fr. 3 above. The soldier Bias was here probably telling a story about how he had insulted a Cypriot with this remark; the anecdote seems to have been adapted by Terence in *Eunuchus* 419–427, where a Rhodian is substituted for the Cypriot, and a Roman proverb in which the soldier's victim is called a hare replaces the Greek vulgarity.

*Five quotations in ancient authors assigned to  
Kolax with varying degrees of probability*

## 7

Plutarch: Some fawners as it were titillate their patrons by flattery and puff them up, others elicit self-praise by maliciously scattering a crumb of commendation as a sort of bait, while others cross-question them and ask for additional detail in order to raise a laugh, as with the soldier in Menander:

# MENANDER

## ΣΤΡΟΤΘΙΑΣ (?)

“πῶς τὸ τραῦμα τοῦτ’ ἔχεις;”  
 “μεσαγκύλῳ.” “πῶς, πρὸς θεῶν;” “ἐπὶ κλίμακα  
 πρὸς τείχος ἀναβαίνων.” ἐγὼ μὲν δεικνύω  
 ἐσπουδακῶς, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἐπεμυκτήρισαν.

1 πῶς δὴ τὸ ms. D. This fragment was assigned to Κόλαξ first by Cobet; see also P. G. McC. Brown, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 92 (1992), 96 f., suggesting a parasite as its speaker.

## 8 (746 KT)

Plutarch, *Moralia* 547de (*De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* 22): . . . ὅπου καὶ (so ms. D: καὶ omitted by most mss.) κόλακι καὶ παρασίτῳ καὶ δεομένῳ δύσοιστον ἐν χρεία καὶ δυσεγκαρτέρητον (so Γ group of mss.: the rest δυσκαρτέρητον) ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων πλούσιός τις ἢ σατράπης ἢ βασιλεύς, καὶ συμβολὰς ταύτας ἀποτίνειν (so C<sup>1</sup>DZ: ἀποτείνειν the rest) μεγίστας λέγουσιν, ὥς ὁ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ.

σφάττει με, λεπτὸς γίνομ’ εὐωχούμενος.  
 τὰ σκώμμαθ’ οἶα τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά,  
 οἶος δ’ ἀλαζών ἐστίν ἀλιτήριος.

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ πρὸς στρατιώτας μόνον οὐδὲ νεοπλούτους εὐπάρυφα καὶ σοβαρὰ διηγήματα περαίνοντας (παραινοῦντας ms. G), ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους καὶ στρατηγούς ὀγκουμένους ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μεγαληγο-

2 σκώμαθ’ mss. G<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>YSC<sup>2</sup>. τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ σοφὰ G, σοφὰ τε καὶ J before correction, ΠΖ. 3 οἷς NRhSi. ἀλιτήριος W (ὁ ἀλι- N): ἀλιτήριος the rest. This fragment was tentatively assigned to Κόλαξ first by Kock; see also Brown, *op. cit.* in apparatus to fr. 7, 94 f., suggesting Strouthias as the speaker.

## KOLAX

### STROUTHIAS (?)

"What gave you this wound?"

"A javelin." "How on earth?" "While climbing up  
A ladder on a wall." I demonstrate —

No joking — but they sneered at it again!

*Plutarch elsewhere cites passages from Menander's Kolax (see frs. 2 and 3), and although he does not identify the play here or at fr. 8, both fragments fit in well with what we know of Kolax and its portrayal of the relationship between the soldier Bias and his acolyte Strouthias, who sometimes combines ridicule with a pretence of commendation. This animated little speech would well suit a Strouthias describing a past incident when some unidentified person asked a vain-glorious Bias about a war wound, and Strouthias ridiculed the soldier by a presumably comic mime of what had happened on the scaling ladder.*

## 8

Shortly after his citation of fr. 7 above, Plutarch writes: In these cases even a fawner, a parasite, a down-and-out in his extremity finds it hard to tolerate and endure a wealthy man or governor or ruler glorifying himself, and they call this the most exorbitant bill they have to pay, like the man in Menander,

He slaughters me, high-living makes me thin!

What clever, military jokes! What a

Pretentious charlatan that devil is!

That's what (we are) accustomed to feel and say when faced not only with soldiers or the nouveaux-riches as they tell their flamboyant, egocentric tales, but also with professors and pundits and generals who pontificate and swell up with self-conceit.

## MENANDER

ροῦντας εἰωθότες πάσχειν (corr. Wytttenbach: φάσκειν mss.) καὶ λέγειν . . .

### 9 (5 Kō and S)

Erotian, *Glossary on Hippocratic Terms* (p. 116 fr. 60 E. Nachmanson, Göteborg 1918): γενέτησιν· οἱ μὲν "τοῖς γονεῦσιν", οἱ δὲ "συγγενέσιν", οὕτως Ἀττικῶν (corr. Schneidewin: ἀττικῶς mss.) λεγόντων, ὡς καὶ Φιλήμων (so the mss., but Meineke conjectured Μένανδρος because the fr. seems to have been translated by Terence in *Eunuchus* 237 f., *em / quo redactus sum. omnes noti me atque amici deserunt*, spoken by the parasite Gnatho) ἐν Κόλακί φησιν·

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γεννήτην δύναμ' εὐρεῖν οὐδένα,  
ὄντων τοσούτων, ἀλλ' ἀπείλημμαι μόνος.

### 10 (6 Kō and S)

Plutarch, *Moralia* 57a (*Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 13): οὐκ ἀπ' εὐθείας ἐπάγει (mss. FDZab: ἐπανάγει other mss.) τὸν ἔπαινον, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν πόρρω κυκλοῦται καὶ

πρόσεισιν, οἷον ἀψοφητὶ θρέμματος,  
ἐπιψάνων καὶ ἀποπειρώμενος.

Fragment 10 was assigned to Menander's Κόλαξ by Meineke, partly because Hesychius, the lexicographer of the 5th century A.D., has the entry ἀψοφητί· ἡρεμά, ἡσύχως· <Μένανδρος> Κόλακι (so Meineke: the ms. has ἡσύχως, κολακεια).



*See above on fr. 7. If this fragment comes from Kolax, the speaker can hardly be any other than a jaundiced Strouthias.*

## 9

Erotian: γενέτησιν (dative plural of γενέτης). Some use this word to mean “fathers”, others “relatives”; the latter is the Attic usage, just as Philemon (*sic*) says in his *Kolax*:

But I can't find a single relative—

There are so many—I'm caught all alone!

*Nowhere else is a play with the title Kolax attributed to Philemon, and it is likely that here Erotian or a copyist wrote Philemon in error for Menander, especially since Terence apparently adapted these two lines in his Eunuchus when he made his parasite say “See what / I'm reduced to — all acquaintances and friends abandon me!”*

## 10

Plutarch follows up his two quotations from Menander's *Kolax* in fr. 3 (above) by saying that the fawner, when dealing with cleverer people, ‘does not introduce his praise directly in a frontal attack but goes off in a wide circuit and

Comes up in silence, as with a wild beast,  
whose temper one tries by touching it lightly.’

*It is likely that this iambic trimeter, cited without name of author or title of play, also comes from Menander's Kolax, partly because of the context in which it is embedded, but partly also because it contains the comparatively rare word ἀποφητί, translated here as ‘in silence’, and this word seems to be attested for Kolax in an admittedly corrupt entry (s.v.) in Hesychius' lexicon, which is most satisfactorily corrected to ‘quietly, gently, as in <Menander's> Kolax’.*



# MENANDER

11 (907 KT, 9 S)

Pollux 7. 86: τὸ δὲ σανδάλιον οὐ μόνον Μένανδρος εἴρηκε.

Thierfelder noted that Terence, *Eunuchus* 1028 (also spoken by Gnatho), which runs *utinam tibi commitigari uideam sandalio caput*, might indicate that the word σανδάλιον occurred in the Κόλαξ.

*Some small papyrus fragments which do not overlap  
any otherwise known part of the play*

12

O.25, an unplaced scrap

] εὐφυνῶς κ[

TPAX[

: κα]κος κακῶς ἀ[πόλοι-

ΣΤΡΟΥ(ΘΙΑΣ)

]δη: νῆ Δι' .[

ᾗ]νθρωπος .[

5

] Στρουθία, ...

ΒΙΑΣ

] .ιο.[ ] .: χαῖρε

2 Suppl. Handley (with ἀπόλοιο or ἀπόλοιτο). Tentatively  
TPAX[(ΗΛΙΩΝ) Arnott.

Pollux: Menander is not the only person to have used the word *σανδάλιον* (sandal).

*Menander could have introduced the word into one or more plays other than Kolax, but in a scene in the Eunuchus likely to have been adapted by Terence from this play, the parasite is made to say 'Oh, if only I could see her sandal softening his skull!'*

*Some small papyrus fragments which do not overlap  
any otherwise known part of the play*

*This tiny scrap of papyrus (O.25) is perhaps more remarkable for its identification of the three speakers present as Strou(thias) (3), Bias (6) and (?) an otherwise unknown slave Trach(elion) (2), than for the isolated words of text that can be deciphered ([be damned to you or him] damnably (2) spoken by (?) Trachelion, by Zeus (3) spoken by Strouthias, hello (6) spoken by Bias; it is uncertain who said cleverly (1) and man (4) or who addressed Strouthias by name in 5. It is possible, however, that this scrap comes from the passage adapted by Terence at Eunuchus 416 ff.; there the three speakers are Thraso the soldier, Gnatho the parasite, and a slave Parmeno, and their conversation includes a curse on the other two by Parmeno (418 f., cf. 431), and the words 'cleverly' (sapienter 416, cf. 427: spoken by the parasite) and 'man' (hominem 417, homini 425).*

Five tiny unplaced scraps of O.5

	(a)	(b)	(d)
	]μ <sub>ε</sub> να[	]εμε[	]λοτο[
	]ω : χαλ[		
	]μ ὀβολου	(c)	(e)
	]εστιν αρπα[	]σει[	]ποτω[
5	]σε δ' ὀρᾶς [		
	] γὰρ σειτ.[		
	]θελε[		

*Three testimonia about Κόλαξ*

I (Test. 52 Körte-Thierfelder)

An anonymous lexicon related to the *Etymologicum Gudianum* published by J. A. Cramer (*Anecdota Graeca e codicibus manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* 4 (Oxford 1841), 25.17) under the heading *καραδοκεῖν* refers to Τιμαχίδης . . . ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κόλακος (corr. Meineke: κόλεικος ms.) ὑπομνήματι.

II

Terence, *Eunuchus* 30–33:

Colax Menandrist. in east parasitus Colax  
et miles gloriosus. eas se non negat  
personas transtulisse in Eunuchum suam  
ex Graeca.

32 suum A *before correction*.

*These five small scraps of O.5 may come from its passages B52-69 and B90-98, or from elsewhere in the play. Few words can be deciphered: is and (?) snatch a4, you see a5, for a6, (?) wish a7, (?) drink e.*

### *Three testimonia about Kolax*

#### I

An anonymous lexicon s.v. *καραδοκεῖν* (to wait for) refers to 'Timachides in his commentary on the *Kolax*.'

*Timachidas (the correct spelling of his name) of Lindos flourished at the turn of the second and first centuries B.C., and is known as a glossarian, parodist, commentator and co-author of a list of dedications to Athena at her temple in Lindos. It is likely but not certain that the Kolax on which he wrote a commentary was Menander's play.*

#### II

From the prologue to Terence's *Eunuchus*:

*Kolax* is by Menander. In it there's *Kolax*  
A fawner, and a braggart soldier. He<sup>a</sup> admits  
He took these characters into his *Eunuch*  
From the Greek play.

*The relevance of this admisison is discussed at length in the introduction to Kolax.*

<sup>a</sup> Terence.

## MENANDER

### III

Donatus (l. 314 Wessner) commenting on Terence, *Eunuchus* 228 HIC QUIDEM EST PARASITUS GNATHO: haec apud Menandrum in Eunucho non sunt, ut ipse professus est, 'parasiti personam et militis' (v. 26), sed de Colace translata sunt.



## KOLAX

### III

Donatus' commentary on Terence's *Eunuchus* 228: IN-DEED IT'S GNATHO THE PARASITE: these words are not in Menander's *Eunouchos*, as he<sup>a</sup> himself confessed, 'the character of parasite and soldier' (*Eunuchus* 25), but are taken from *Kolax*.

*See the introduction to Kolax.*

<sup>a</sup> Terence.



KONEIAZOMENAI

(WOMEN DRINKING HEMLOCK)



## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

Z = *P. Ross.-Georg.* I.10, a fragment of papyrus of the second century A.D., containing the ends of the last 20 lines of one column and the opening letters of the first 17 lines in the next. It is reported now to be in the Kekelidze Institute for Manuscripts, Library of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi, Georgia. First edition: Gregor Zereteli (the name is now normally transliterated Tsere-teli), *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniya* (St Petersburg), 19 n.s. (January-February 1909), part V, pp. 89-96; it was republished by Zereteli and O. Krueger, *Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen*, I (Tbilisi 1925), 64-69. No photograph has been published.

B/S = *P. Berlin* inv. 21312 + *P. Schubart* 27, a fragment of papyrus of the second or third century A.D. from Philadelphia. It originally contained an anthology of quotations, including fr. 1 of *Koneiazomenai*. First edition: O. Bouqu-taux-Simon, *Proceedings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology*, I (Cairo 1992), 468 and 479.

Fragments 1 and 2 are ancient quotations from the play (see my introduction to volume I of the Loeb Menander, pp. xxiv f.).



The title of this play implies that two or more women (either just before its opening or more probably in the course of its plot) drank poison hemlock (*Conium maculatum*).<sup>1</sup> A very toxic yellowish resin in the plant's roots (cf. Theophrastus, *HP* 9. 8. 3) makes even a small dose rapidly fatal, as any Athenian in Menander's audience would have known, in view of its employment in Athens as an accepted method of execution. Juices extracted from other parts of the plant, however, were used beneficially as a solvent for healing drugs (cf. Pliny, *HN* 25. 152–153). We have no means of knowing why the women in Menander's play decided to drink hemlock. One possibility is a real attempt at suicide, in order to avoid an even worse fate (cf. Antheia in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesus, 3. 5. 11); another would be a bogus drink producing a feigned death, as part presumably of a confidence trick (cf. Chairestratos in Menander's *Aspis* 329 ff.).

The fractured remains of vv. 18–20 in the Tbilisi papyrus exactly match two and a half lines cited from Menander's *Koneiazomenai* by Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 44. 45 (fr. 306 Kock). This identifies the dramatic source of the papyrus, but the latter's text yields no clues as to why any hemlock was imbibed. The papyrus text seems to come from late in the play—perhaps the very beginning

<sup>1</sup> The Greek title *Κωνειαζόμεναι* could be passive (Women Forced to Drink Hemlock) or middle (Women Drinking Hemlock: voluntarily?); the latter is perhaps more probable, especially if a note in the lexicon of Photius s.v. *κωνειαζόμεναι*: *θανάσιμον φάρμακον πινούσαις* ('women taking hemlock: women drinking a lethal drug') was originally composed in order to explain Menander's title.

of the fifth and final act, if its first editor was right to think that before v. 1 the mark ΧΟΡΟΤ, indicating a choral interlude, originally stood. In the surviving lines a man (v. 12) who is probably young converses with somebody else—perhaps a slave from his household—about an unexpectedly happy turn of events, leading to a wedding (v. 5) that is possibly being arranged for him by his father. Another character named Chaireas appears also to be involved (v. 9); elsewhere in New Comedy this name is regularly given to young men (Menander, *Aspis*, *Dyskolos*; anon. fr. 251. 3 Austin; Terence, *Eunuchus*). Tyche, the goddess of fortune, is praised for her intervention (vv. 13–20), leaving us to wonder whether Menander had used her here as a divine prologue just as he did in *Aspis*.

No hypothesis, didascalie notice, or cast list is preserved for this play. Its production date is unknown.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

Young man

A slave from the young man's household (?)

Other characters might have included the young man's father, the Chaireas mentioned in v. 9, Tyche as a divine prologue. The rest of the cast is unknown. The women who drank hemlock may have played a major or only incidental role. There was presumably also a chorus to perform the entr'actes.

## ΚΩΝΕΙΑΖΟΜΕΝΑΙ

(The major papyrus fragment may come from the beginning of Act V: see the introduction above. A young man is conversing, possibly with a slave.)

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

? 15 letters ]η[. .]εμ[. .]ο[. . . .].  
ἐνύπν]ιον.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ (<sup>4</sup>?)

εἰ καθεῦδομεν  
] τάλαντα πένθ' ἄμα  
] κόσμον.

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

οὐκ ἐγρήγορα

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ (?)

5

τοὺς γ]άμους γ' ἤδη ποεῖ.

Those corrections and supplements whose author is not named here were made by the ed. pr., G. Zereteli. 1 At a distance of 1.1 cm above the opening lines in Z is written [τεῖ[ / ]να[ / ]ο[. 5 ]αμουσηδη with γ added above ση Z. τοὺς suppl. Wilamowitz.

# KONEIAZOMENAI

(Women Drinking Hemlock)

(SCENE: *unknown. Events of the first four acts: unknown, apart presumably from the drinking of the hemlock.*)

(*In the main part of the papyrus fragment a young man is conversing with another person, most plausibly identified as his slave.*)

YOUNG MAN

] dream.

SLAVE (?)

If we're asleep. 2

two] talents, and an extra five

] finery.<sup>a</sup>

YOUNG MAN

I'm not awake.

SLAVE (?)

] he's preparing now [the] wedding. 5

<sup>a</sup> In the broken text here the speaker seems to be reporting first the size of a dowry, and secondly a smaller figure (? five minas = one twelfth of a talent) for the provision of a trousseau and incidentals for the bride. Cf. my notes on *Aspis* 35, *Dyskolos* 740, 843.

MENANDER

κροτ]ών.

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

τί λέγεις;

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ (?)

κροτών· ἐγὼ

] δειλινὸν παρῆν.

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

τί οὖν;

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ (?)

κ]αθήμενος λαλεῖ

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

τίν]ι;

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ (?)

Χαιρέα.

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

ποῦ; βούλομαι

10

]

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ (?)

ἐγγ]ύς τις ἔστιν ἐξέδρα

οἶσθ]α δήπον· δεξιᾶς.

]σιν.

6 κροτ]ών . . . κροτών suppl. and interpreted by Wilamowitz. Z provides a scholion to this line: τι λεγ[εις] / υγι[αι]ν[ει] (suppl. tentatively Zereteli). 9 τίν]ι suppl. Sudhaus. 11 Suppl. Körte.



KONEIAZOMENAI

fit as] a flea.<sup>a</sup>

YOUNG MAN

What's that you say?

SLAVE (?)

Flea! There I was

last] evening.

YOUNG MAN

What then?

SLAVE (?)

] he sits and chats

YOUNG MAN

[Who with?]

SLAVE (?)

Chaireas.<sup>b</sup>

YOUNG MAN

Where? I should like

]

SLAVE (?)

] There's a bench [near here]

10

] on the right—[you know] of course!

<sup>a</sup> *κροτών* is literally a tick (*Ixodes ricinus*: see I. C. Beavis, *Insects and other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity*, Exeter 1988, 56–60), and there was a Greek proverb *υγιέστερος κροτώνος*, 'healthier than a tick' (cf. Zenobius 6. 23, citing it in Menander fr. 263 KT). In the translation I have adopted the closest English parallel known to me.

<sup>b</sup> See the introduction to this play.

# MENANDER

## ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ

ὄψομ' εἰσιών.

ο]ὐδ' ἀδικαίως τῇ τύχῃ

κ]ακῶς εἴρηκά που·

15

ἐ]οιχ' ὀρώσά τι

]ς τοῖς πόνοις δ' εἰργαζόμεν

]ων γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτυχον

] ὥστε μηδεὶς πρὸς θεῶν

πράττων κακῶς λίαν ἀθυμήσῃ ποτέ·

20

ἴσως γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο πρόφασις γίνεται.

column ii of Z

\_\_ἀγορ[ 21, . . . .[ 22, παν[ 23, [ᾰ]πε[ 24, τον[ 25, [.]εμ[ 26, \_\_συμ[ 27, \_\_α.μ[ 28, . . .[ 29, προη[ 30, ανθο[ 31, . . .ε[ 32, πολλ[ 33, κατα[ 34, μηπ[ 35, ὀγκον[ 36, ἀποδ[ 37.

18–20 Kock fr. 306

12 It is uncertain whether Z has *εισιων*· (so Körte, who continues the following lines to the young man) or *εισιων*: (Zereteli). 15 Suppl. Körte. 18 (ὥστε)—20 (γίνεται) Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 44. 45 citing Μένανδρος Κωνειαζόμεναις. 18 *μηθεὶς* mss. of Stob. and originally Z: *μηδεις* after correction Z. 20 *γινεται*: Z.

\* \* \*

# KONEIAZOMENAI

YOUNG MAN

] I'll go in and see.

[I've] not [done] right [to rail at] Lady Luck.

I have perhaps abused [her, called her blind,]

[But now she's saved me] — clearly she can see! 15

[I really toiled], but by my toils achieved

[Nothing worthwhile]. I'd not have gained success

[Without her help]. And so let no one, please,

Ever be too despondent if he fails.

That *may* become an agent of good fortune! 20

*(A dicolon at the end of v. 20 marks the end of the speech. After v. 20 the papyrus preserves just the opening letters of a further 17 lines. There are paragraphi under 21, 27 and 28, indicating either continuation of the conversation between the young man and (?) his slave, or a new scene with new characters. Little sense can be made out of 21–37: market or buy (?) 21, the 25, many 33, weight or dignified (?) 36.)*

\* \* \*

## MENANDER

### *Two fragments of Κωνειαζόμεναι, quoted by ancient authors*

#### 1 (1 Körte and Sandbach)

This fragment is cited in three anthologies. (i) Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 21. 2 (περὶ τοῦ "γνώθι σεαυτόν"): Μενάνδρου Κωνειαζόμεναις (corr. Hense: κοταβιζούσαις ms. S (with compendium), κωταζόμεναις mss. M (with compendium) and A). (ii) Orion 1. 18 (F. G. Schneidewin, *Conjectanea Critica: Insunt Orionis Thebani Antholognomici tituli VIII*, Göttingen 1839, 43): ἐκ τῶν Κωνειαζομένων (corr. Schneidewin: Κωνεαζομένων ms.; the author's name is omitted because the previous extract was ἐκ τῶν Στρατιωτῶν Μενάνδρου, fr. 380 KT). (iii) An anonymous anthology whose mutilated remains survive on papyrus (B/S: see introduction to Κωνειαζόμεναι).

τὸ "γνώθι σεαυτόν" ἐστίν, ἂν τὰ πράγματα  
εἰδῆς τὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τί σοι ποιητέον.

1 σεαυτόν B/S, ms. A of Stobaeus: σεαυτόν mss. SM of Stob.

2 εἰδῆς B/S: ἴδῃς (or ἴδῃς) mss. of Stob., Orion. σεαυτοῦ MA of Stob., ms. of Orion (σεαυ[ B/S): ἐαυτοῦ S of Stob.

#### 2 (2 Kö and S)

The scholia of mss. P and M of Clemens, *Paedagogus* 2. 26 (p. 305. 3 ff. Stählin<sup>3</sup>): Ἐπιμενίδης· οὗτος ἐκάθηρε τὰς Ἀθηνας. ἦν δὲ Κρής τῷ γένει καὶ σοφώτατος· οὐ καὶ Μένανδρος μέμνηται ἐν ταῖς Κωνειαζόμεναις.

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<sup>a</sup> A well-known Greek maxim, meaning basically 'Know that you are a human being, not a god', with an influence probably equal to that of one of the Ten Commandments in Christian society. In the sixth century B.C. it was inscribed on the Temple of

## KONEIAZOMENAI

*Two fragments of Koneiazomenai,  
quoted by ancient authors*

### 1

Stobaeus ('On the saying "Know thyself"') with the heading 'Menander in *Koneiazomenai*'; Orion with the heading 'from *Koneiazomenai*'; and an anonymous anthology of quotations on papyrus.

This "Know thyself"<sup>a</sup> means if you understand  
Your own affairs and what you ought to do.

*Context and speaker unknown.*

### 2

A scholiast on Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus*: Epimenides. This man purified Athens. He was a Cretan by birth and most wise. Menander in fact mentions him in *Koneiazomenai*.

*Epiménides was a religious teacher and worker of miracles whose achievements belong more to the world of legend than to historical reality; he was assumed to have lived 157 or 299 years, to have once slept for 57 years, and to have possessed a shaman's ability to travel outside his own body. The date when he purified Athens was disputed: around either 600 B.C. (after the massacre of Cylon's associates) or 500 B.C. The context in which Menander mentioned him is now unknown, but it may be worth noting that he was sometimes identified as one of the Seven Wise Men. See E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951), 141–143.*

Apollo at Delphi, and later its formulation was attributed to the Seven Wise Men. See Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (English translation by J. Raffan, Oxford 1985), 148.





LEUKADIA  
(THE GIRL FROM LEUCAS)

## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

O.i = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 4024, a scrap of papyrus written in the first century A.D. It contains fragments of ten iambic trimeters that probably began the play. Proof of its authorship is given by line 5, which coincides with Menander fr. 686 KT (cited without play-title); its attribution to *Leucadia* is supported by two circumstances. References in it to a rock (2, 8) apparently described as high (10) in the vicinity of a temple of Apollo (1, 4) point to Leucas as the scene of the play (see below); and Turpilus, *Leucadia* fr. XI<sup>1</sup> appears to be an adaptation of lines 2–3 of the papyrus. First edition: P. J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 60 (1994), 42–46, with a photograph (pl. III).

O.ii = *P. Oxyrhynchus* inv. 50 4B 30H (5), still not assigned a definitive number. This consists of a number of fragments from a papyrus roll of the first century A.D. or perhaps slightly later. Only one fragment (A) has been published; its attribution to *Leucadia* is less than certain,

<sup>1</sup> The Turpilus fragments are cited here and below in the numbering of O. Ribbeck, *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* <sup>3</sup> (Leipzig 1898) 113–118. Fr. XI runs *miseram terrent me omnia / maris scopuli, sonitus, solitudo, sanctitudo Apollinis*, ‘All this frightens me, poor me — / Sea rocks, sound, desolation and Apollo’s overwhelming awe!’

but its references to travel (38), local customs (43) and particularly the 'big rock' (42) are persuasive. First (provisional) edition: E. W. Handley, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 26 (1979), 84–87; no photograph is yet available.

Fragments 1 to 8 are quotations in later authors (see the introduction to volume I, pp. xxiv f.). Fr. 1 seems to fit on to the end of O.i, and fr. 2 to follow shortly after. The other fragments are printed after O.ii. Three testimonia, which provide ancient information about the play, are also printed: I after fr. 2, II and III after fragment 8.

### *Pictorial Evidence*

A mosaic of the third century A.D. from the 'House of Menander' at Mytilene in Lesbos. This mosaic is inscribed just ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΑΣ (with no indication of the act from which its scene is taken), and is difficult to interpret. The person standing in the centre has a garland of leaves on the head and seems to be holding a palm branch in the right hand. If this is a woman, she may well be the temple servant who appears in O.i and is addressed in fr. 5. An old man who faces her on her left has his right hand extended in a gesture of astonishment or concern; an old man is mentioned in O.ii (v. 36). On the right is a woman, also garlanded, with her hands to her face; she may be the young heroine. On the extreme right stands a tiny figure holding an unidentified object; one possibility is that a statue of the god Apollo is portrayed carrying a model of his temple, another is that some other character is represented, drawn to a smaller scale because in this scene he was a mute (like Syros' wife in the *Epitrepontes* mosaic:

see volume I p. 382). Standard edition of the mosaic: S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès, *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (*Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6, Berne 1970), 55–57, colour plate 7 and black-and-white plate 23.

*Leukadia* was chosen as a title by several comic playwrights in the fourth century B.C. and perhaps later—Alexis, Amphis and Diphilus—as well as by Menander, while Antiphanes wrote a *Leukadios* (Man of Leucas). Leucas (now usually called Levkadha) is one of the Ionian Islands, north of Cephalonia and Ithaca, its northern part approaching close to the coast of Acarnania south of the Gulf of Ambracia. It takes its name (= ‘White Place’) from the precipitous chalk cliff of Cape Leucatas (now Dukato) at its south-western tip, from which criminals were thrown, daredevils tested their nerve, and unhappy lovers such as Sappho (see v. 12 of O.i/fr. 1 and the note there) were said to have made suicide leaps. The cape was crowned by a Temple of Apollo reduced now—like Menander’s *Leukadia*—to a few small fragments.<sup>1</sup>

Plays of later Greek Comedy with ethnic titles normally feature the adventures of a character who comes from one city or area to another (often Athens), the latter then being the scene of the play (cf. e.g. Menander’s *Karchedonios*, *Perinthia*), but the scene of Menander’s *Leukadia* is clearly (cf. vv. 1 f.) the Temple of Apollo on Cape Leucatas.

If we possessed only the papyrus fragments, the ancient quotations and the mosaic scene from Menan-

<sup>1</sup> Büchner’s excellent account of the island in *RE* s.v. *Leukas* is accompanied by an excellent map (2217–2218).



## LEUKADIA

der's *Leukadia*, it would be difficult even to hazard guesses about its plot. These remains suggest only that the play began with a conversation in iambic trimeters between a young girl (? the titular heroine) and the temple servant (O.i, perhaps O.ii), during which the latter sang or chanted a passage in anapaestic dimeters (O.i/fr. 1 vv. 11–16 and fr. 2, see also testimonium I). The girl has just arrived by sea, like Palaestra and Ampelisca in Plautus' *Rudens*. The two girls in the Roman play were trainee *hetairai* in the possession of a pimp, and had been shipwrecked on the coast near Cyrene; we are totally ignorant of the girl's status in *Leukadia*, but it seems more likely that the boat in which she had been travelling had merely been blown off course, if she was travelling in company with the father and son mentioned in O.ii.

This would be all that could safely be said about Menander's plot, if nineteen generally informative fragments from a Latin adaptation of the play by Turpilius had not survived (see above, s.v. O.i). The Roman fragments<sup>1</sup> yield several clues to the structure of Turpilius' plot, which is unlikely to have differed very much from that of the Menandrian original, but these clues sometimes produce puzzles rather than solutions. We hear about a boat being ordered to accelerate (XIV: ? the boat that in O.ii v. 41 of Menander was blown along), a man pursuing a girl after previously snubbing her (I, III),

<sup>1</sup> These are most satisfactorily edited in the Teubner edition of Ludowica Rychlewska (Leipzig 1971), 29–37, which adheres to Ribbeck's numbering, although the editor's interpretation of the hints that these fragments provide for the plot is not always convincing (see my review of her earlier edition in *Gnomon* 40, 1968, 32).

a girl rejecting a young man's advances (VI), a girl kissing an old man (IV), a girl named Dorcium who is heartbroken (XV, cf. IX), an unhappy man calling on the gods for help (XII), a lover's confession of his or her passion (VIII), someone acting insanely (XIII), and a (? final) dinner. Too many pieces of the plot's jigsaw are lost for any attempt at reconstruction to be successful, but clearly one or two girls were involved with one or two men in a love tangle perhaps more complicated than usual in New Comedy, doubtless with a happy resolution at the end. Further than that it is unsafe to go; we can ask questions but not produce answers. Was the girl in O.i the counterpart of Turpilius' Dorcium? Was she enslaved and a trainee *hetaira*, or free? Where did she come from, and if she travelled in the boat with the father and son of O.ii, what (if any) was her connection with them? How was the temple servant involved? Was she a lost relative of the girl?

One thing can be stated with confidence: both the Menandrian original and the Turpilian adaptation dealt with the experiences of ordinary people of the time. Ribbeck's theory (see p. 220, n. 1) that these two comedies burlesqued the fable of Sappho and Phaon (see fr. 1) was shown to be untenable by Wilamowitz<sup>1</sup> many years ago; Menander is not known to have written a form of comedy that was already obsolescent thirty years before he came on to the scene, although the adventures of his

<sup>1</sup> *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913), 26. Konrad Gaiser, *Menanders 'Hydria'* (*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1977/1, 440-482), has an ingenious but overspeculative discussion of the previously known fragments of Menander's play.

## LEUKADIA

everyday characters may have been designed to resemble in some ways the legendary ones of Sappho and Phaon, just as the adventures of other contemporary Greeks in Menander's *Sikyonios* and *Epitrepontes* may have been intended partly to recall the momentous experiences of mythological heroes and heroines.<sup>1</sup> No hypothesis, didascalic notice, or cast-list is preserved for this play. Its production date is consequently unknown.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as known:

A girl, recently arrived on Leucas, perhaps identical with the title figure and/or the Dorcium of Turpilius' adaptation

The female servant in the Temple of Apollo on the island of Leucas

Probably an old man and his son, one of them perhaps called Kleinias

In the lost portions of the play other characters would have had speaking roles, and presumably there was a chorus to perform the entr'actes.

<sup>1</sup> See my paper in J. H. Betts and others (edd.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, 1 (Bristol 1986), 1-9.

## ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΑ

Papyrus fragment O.i + book fragment 1 (258 Körte-Thierfelder)

O.i may be the opening of the play. E. W. Handley (in an unpublished hand-out for a lecture on 'Menander and the Art of Popular Entertainment') noted that book fragment 1 (258 KT) fits neatly on to the end of v. 10 of O.i, with the temple servant switching from iambic trimeters to anapaestic dimeters in mid-speech; in Euripides' *Ion* (1440–1442) Kreousa similarly in mid-speech switches from iambic trimeters to lyrics.

Strabo 10. 2. 9 (p. 452 Casaubon) introduces lines 1 to 5 (ἄναξ) of book fr. 1 as follows: ἔχει δὲ (sc. ὁ Λευκάτας) τὸ τοῦ Λευκάτα Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἄλμα τὸ τοὺς ἔρωτας παύειν πεπιστευμένον, "οὐ δὴ—Σαπφῶ", ὥς φησιν ὁ Μένανδρος, "τὸν ὑπέρκομπον—δέσποτ' ἄναξ" (v. 5), and continues ὁ μὲν οὖν Μένανδρος πρῶτην ἀλέσθαι (so most mss.: ἄλασθαι mss. enx) λέγει τὴν Σαπφῶ, οἱ δ' ἔτι ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι Κέφαλόν φασιν ἐρασθέντα Πτερέλα (corr. Tzschucke: Πτερόλα C, Περόλα D, Πταρόλα all the other mss. of Strabo) τὸν Δηιονέως. Hesychius quotes from line 5 (from εὐφημείσθω) to the end of the fragment (Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς), s.v. (λ 719) Λευκάδος· Μένανδρος Λευκαδία (corr. Bentley: λευκαδεσι ms. H). Bentley was the first to see that the Hesychius citation followed that of Strabo without a break.



## LEUKADIA

(The Girl from Leucas)

(SCENE: *The Temple of Apollo perched on Cape Leucatas in the island of Leucas, with a statue of the god by the entrance-doors. At least one other building is likely to have been visible to the audience, but its occupant or occupants cannot be identified.*)

(*Papyrus O.i appears to contain the play's opening lines. The woman who acts as the temple servant is on stage, probably at the temple doors. A girl enters, carrying an empty jar. She has just arrived at the Temple of Apollo on Cape Leucatas.*)



# MENANDER

## ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

Ἄ]πολλον, εἰς [οἶο]ν κατωκίσθης τό[πον.  
Ἄ]παντα πέτρα καὶ θάλαττ' ἐστὶν κ[άτω  
ἰ]δεῖν φοβερά τ[ι]ς.

## ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

χαῖρε πολλά, παιδίον.

## ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

νῆ καὶ σύ γ', ἥτις εἶ ποθ'.

## ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

ἥτις εἰμ' ἐγ[ώ];

5 ἢ ζάκορος ἢ κοσμοῦσα τὸν νεώ, τέκνον.  
ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδίζεις;

## ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

ναιχί.

## ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

τουτὶ πλ[ησίον];

ἱερ[ὸν θεοῦ] 'στι ν]ᾶμα.

## ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

μῆτερ φιλάτ[η],

ἄκουσον· οἶσθ' ἐ]ῖ που πέτρα 'στιν, εἰπέ μοι,  
ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κλισμὸς] ἰθύς, ἵνα τοὺς —

5 KT fr. 686

In this apparatus those supplements whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr. of O.i, P. J. Parsons. 2 Or κ[ύκλω, suppl. Holwerda. 3 τ[ι]ς suppl. Handley. πολλὰ originally omitted in O.i and then added above *επαίδιον*. 7 ν]ᾶμα suppl. Parsons, the rest Handley. 8, 9 Suppl. Handley.

# LEUKADIA

Papyrus O.i and book fragment 1

GIRL

*(addressing the statue by the temple doors)*  
Apollo, [what a] spot you're lodged in here!  
Nothing but rocks, and sea [below]. It looks  
Frightful!<sup>a</sup>

TEMPLE SERVANT

My hearty greetings, child.

GIRL

Yes, and the same

To you, whoever you may be!

TEMPLE SERVANT

Whoever I

May be? Child, I'm the servant who looks after  
The temple. Going for water?

5

GIRL

Yes.

TEMPLE SERVANT

This here,

[Near-by, Apollo's] holy spring?

GIRL

Dear mother,

[Please] tell me, [do you know] if there's a cliff  
[That drops] straight down, so that the—

<sup>a</sup> These lines are clearly the Greek original of fr. XI of Turpil-  
ius' *Leucadia*: see p. 220, n. 1.

# MENANDER

## ZAKOPOS

ἐνθαδί,

- 10 ὀρᾶς, μεγάλη τις. τῇ]ν [γὰ]ρ ὑψηλὴν λέγεις,  
οὐ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφῶ  
τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων'  
οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥύψαι πέτρας  
ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς. ἀλλὰ κατ' εὐχὴν  
15 σήν, δέσποτ' ἄναξ, εὐφημείσθω  
16 τέμενος πέρι Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς.

11–16 KT fr. 258, Arnott fr. 1.

10 [γὰ]ρ suppl. Austin. O.i ends at 10; 11–16 = book fr. 1, placed here by Handley. 12 Φάων' Casaubon: Πφάων most mss. of Strabo, Πφάον x. 15 ἄναξ<sup>i</sup> omitted in mss. enx of Strabo. 16 πέρι Bernhardt, ἀκτῆς Musurus: περὶ and ακτις ms. H of Hesychius.

<sup>a</sup> In Menander's day the sixth-century Lesbian poetess Sappho was believed to have fallen in love with Phaon, a mythological Lesbian ferryman who once conveyed the goddess Aphrodite free of charge from his island to the mainland of Asia Minor, and was rewarded by her with an oil that transformed him into the most handsome man in the world. When Sappho was spurned by him, legend made her commit suicide by leaping into the sea from the cliff of Cape Leucatas. There is no known historical basis for the story, which in all probability was the brainchild of some Athenian playwright of Old or Middle Comedy (? Plato the comic poet in his *Phaon*).

<sup>b</sup> Apollo.

<sup>c</sup> Cephalus was an old Attic hero, and Pterelaus a king of the Teleboans; this appears to be the only reference to the unhappy love affair.

# LEUKADIA

## TEMPLE SERVANT

(pointing)

Here, [you see],

[A big one.] You must mean [that] towering crag — 10

*(The temple servant here begins to sing (or chant) a long monody in anapaestic dimeters, of which book fr. 1 preserves the first six verses.)*

Where 'tis said Sappho first, when pursuing her  
proud

High and mighty Phaon,<sup>a</sup> in her frenzied desire  
Threw herself from the cliff that an eye can discern  
From afar. Even so, by your wish and command,  
O my master and lord,<sup>b</sup> let due silence enshroud 15  
Your demesne on the headland of Leucas! 16

*(Papyrus O.1 ends at v. 10. Book fr. 1 (here vv. 11–16) fits neatly on the end of v. 10. Vv. 11–15 (up to 'lord') are quoted by the geographer Strabo with the comment (10.2.8) 'It (sc. Cape Leucatas on Leucas) has the temple of Apollo Leucatas and the Leap which was believed to end sexual passion: "Where—first," as Menander says, "when pursuing—master and lord." So Menander says that Sappho made the leap first, but those who are far better antiquarians claim that Cephalus the son of Deioneus, when in love with Pterelaus, jumped first.'<sup>c</sup> Vv. 15 (from 'let due silence') to the end of the fragment are quoted by Hesychius in his lexicographical entry for '(Of) Leucas'; by prefixing to his citation 'Menander in the Leukadia' he (unlike Strabo) identifies the play.)*

## MENANDER

### Fragment 2 (259 Körte-Thierfelder)

From Choeroboscus' commentary on the grammarian Theodosius (1. 330. 32 Hilgard): ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ εἰς ΤΣ λήγοντα θηλυκά, εἰ μὲν εἰσι βαρύτονα, διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ ΟΣ κλίνονται, οἷον πίτυς πίτυος, χέλυσ χέλυος—σημαίνει δὲ τὴν κιθάραν, ὥς τὸ (ὥς τὸ omitted by mss. NC)

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

πάμφων' οὐρέια χέλυσ

οὕτω (omitted by NC) Μένανδρος ἐν Λευκαδία (so NC: ἑλκαδία ms. V).

### Testimonium I

A scholion in ms. A of Hephaestion's *περὶ ποιημάτων* comments on the expression *κατὰ περιορισμοὺς δὲ ἀνίσους* at 6.3 as follows (p. 173. 12 f. Consbruch): οἷα ἐστὶν ἡ εἰσβολὴ τῆς Λευκαδίας Μενάνδρου.



## LEUKADIA

### Fragment 2

Choeroboscus: It must be realised that if feminine (nouns) ending in ΤΣ are accented barytone, they decline with a pure ΟΣ (in the genitive singular), like πίτυς πίτυος (pine-tree), χέλυς χέλυος—this means 'lyre', as in

(TEMPLE SERVANT)

O my lyre of the hills, many-toned

So Menander in *Leukadia*.

*A further anapaestic dimeter from the temple servant's monody.*

### Testimonium I

A scholiast's comment on Hephaestion's use of the phrase 'with regard to unequal divisions' (sc. of strophes in Greek lyric): 'just like the beginning of Menander's *Leukadia*.'

*Normally in Greek lyric the metrical structure of an individual strophe was exactly matched by a counterpart, and the implication of the scholiast's comment here is that something similar might be expected in a song written in anapaestic dimeters: i.e. that a sequence of complete dimeters that closed with a catalectic dimeter (a paroemiac like v. 16 of O.i/fr. 1) would be matched by an exactly corresponding sequence, but this apparently did not happen in the anapaestic song of the temple servant in Menander's Leukadia. The attestation that this 'unequal division' came at the beginning of Menander's play is the only evidence from antiquity about its position in the play.*

# MENANDER

## Papyrus fragment O.ii

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ (?)

- 31 ]απολλ. . . . [ ]θ.[  
 ] . . . εα.πο. . . ριγε.[  
 ]θέζειν ω. . . ετερ[  
 35 ]πεισέπλει μὲν ἡ [ . . ]. [ . . ]. [ . . ]  
 ] ἀκόλουθος καταπλυν[ε]ῖ[ν] με.[ . . ]. [ . . ]  
 ] νεανίσκῳ πατὴρ ἔστιν γέρων  
 ] . την γυναῖκα βούλεται  
 ] συγγενῆς ἐφόδια πλούσια  
 ] ἤκουσεν, ἐπέμεν' οὐκέτι  
 40 (?) ]

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ (?)

- ]ως ἐρωτικόν, τάλαν,  
 ]χθῆ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνέμου τινὸς  
 ]αυτὴν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην πέτραν  
 ]υτο τοῦπιχώριον  
 ]ν' αὐτοὺς παθεῖν  
 45 ]τί ποτ' ἂν ποήσῃ. τοῦθ' ὅσαν

In the apparatus here any supplement or correction whose author is not named was made by the ed. pr. of O.ii, E. W. Handley. Speech-division at v. 40 and part-assignments generally suggested *exempli gratia* by Arnott. 34 Suppl. Arnott.

35 -πλυν[ε]ῖ[ν] Arnott. 40 ἐρωτικόν O.ii.

44 ]ναιαντουσ O.ii. 45 ποιησῃ O.ii.

# LEUKADIA

## Papyrus fragment O.ii

(The lines of this morsel are here numbered 31–51. It is only tentatively attributed to Leukadia, and its speakers, speech-divisions and position in its play cannot be identified with any certainty. Much of its material, however, is expository, and this points to an early scene. One possibility is that we have here a later part of the opening conversation between the young girl and the temple servant, after the metre had returned to iambic trimeters; the word *τάλαν* (poor thing) in v. 40 indicates a female speaker, and if *φ[ι]λτ[άτη]* (dearest) is correctly supplied at v. 49, we have again a form used by the young girl at v. 7 in addressing the servant. The papyrus is badly mutilated, but vv. 34–50 can perhaps usefully be set out in full. Before this section v. 31 yields either Apollo or many (? things), and 33 other.)

### GIRL (?)

(giving an account of her arrival in Leucas?)

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| ] after that the [ship] sailed in [                  | 34 |
| ] following to drench me (?) [                       | 35 |
| ] youth has an old father                            |    |
| ] wants her (?) [to be his] wife                     |    |
| ] relative [            ] extensive means for travel |    |
| ] heard, no longer waited                            |    |
| ]  |    |

### TEMPLE SERVANT (?)

- |                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| Poor thing, how passionate!         | 40 |
| ] was [driven] by a wind off course |    |
| ] this mighty cliff                 |    |
| ] the local custom                  |    |
| ] them (?) to suffer                |    |
| ] what he is to do. Whoever         | 45 |

# MENANDER

]ιναι τὰ [. .].[.]. θεῶν  
]σ'.

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ (?)

εὔξατ', ἂν ὁ Κλεινίας

]· διὰ κενῇ<ς> καὶ λαβε[

] μὴ θελήσῃ, φ[ι]λτ[άτη,

τ]ὴν ἀρετὴν .[

]του[

50

48 κενῇκαι O.ii.

49 Suppl. Arnott.

## Fragment 3 (261 KT)

Olympiodorus' commentary (p. 30 Busse) on Aristotle, *Categories* 1 (1<sup>a</sup>1, ὧν ὄνομα μόνον κοινόν): πρὸς τοῦτό φαμεν διττὸν τὸ ὄνομα· τὸ μὲν πτωτικόν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς γραμματικοῖς ἔθος καλεῖν οὕτω, τὸ δὲ φερόμενον κατὰ πάσης λέξεως σημαινούσης τι. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος ἐν προοιμίῳ τῆς Λευκαδίας ὀνόματα ἐκάλεσεν πᾶσαν λέξιν, ὥς σὺν θεῷ μαθησόμεθα.

---

<sup>a</sup> Or 'He'.

LEUKADIA

] this [     ] the [     ] of [the] gods

GIRL (?)

She<sup>a</sup> prayed, if Kleinias  
] in vain, and to take (?)  
] may not wish, my dear  
] excellence [

50

(The gaps in the papyrus here make the clues that this passage provides to the plot of its play tantalisingly difficult to interpret. Presumably the girl was travelling in a ship that was blown off its course to Cape Leucatas. How were the young man and his father involved with her? Was Kleinias the young man's name? Did he wish to marry the girl? Was the girl travelling in order to avoid him, or for some other purpose?)

### Fragment 3

Olympiodorus, commenting on a phrase in the opening line of Aristotle's *Categories* ('things whose "name" only is shared'): With regard to this, we say that 'name' is an ambiguous term. One meaning is a declinable noun, and that in fact is how grammarians customarily use the word. The other meaning covers every expression that means anything. In the introduction to his *Leukadia* Menander too used the word 'names' in this way, to mean every kind of expression, as we shall find out, god willing.

*Presumably when an expression of the second type occurred in the play, the speaker or somebody else applied to it the term 'names', a word that ancient Greek grammarians commonly used in the sense of 'nouns'. Since ὀνόματα, the Greek word for 'names', would not fit metrically in a normal ana-*



## MENANDER

### Fr. 4 (255 KT)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 3. 10. 20 (περὶ ἀδικίας), with the heading Μενάνδρου Λευκαδία (so mss. SM: λευκαδεία A). The fragment is cited also in the Paris gnomological corpus (*codex Parisinus* 1168) directly after another Menander quotation without play or author being named.

ὅστις ὑπέχει χρυσίῳ  
τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ μὴ φῆ, πονηρὰ βούλεται.

2 βούλεται Paris ms. 1985 (according to Gaisford) and Grotius: βουλεύεται mss. SMA of Stobaeus and the Paris corpus.

### Fr. 5 (256 KT)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 32. 6 (περὶ πενίας, 1: πενίας ἔπαινος), with the heading Μενάνδρου (so ms. M: μ<sup>ε</sup> S, τοῦ αὐτοῦ (after Menander fr. 618 KT) A) Λευκαδία (MA: title omitted in S).

ἀεὶ νομίζονθ' οἱ πένητες τῶν θεῶν.

νομίζονθ' ms. A and Trincavelli edition: νομίζοντ' mss. SM.

### Fr. 6 (257 KT)

The *Etymologicum Genuinum* (R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* (Leipzig 1897), 194), Photius (p. 1.244 Naber) and the *Suda* (ζ 9 Adler) cite the fragment s.v. ζάκορος· νεωκόρος· ἡγουν ἢ διακονοῦσα περὶ τὸ ἱερόν. Μένανδρος Δις ἐξαπατῶντι (fr. 5 Arnott and Sandbach, 112 KT) . . . καὶ ὁ ὑπηρέτης. Λευκαδία.

## LEUKADIA

*paestic dimeter sequence, the words 'introduction to his Leukadia' must refer to a lost part of the opening scene when the anapaests had been succeeded by iambic trimeters.*

### Fr. 4

Stobaeus ('On injustice'), with the heading 'Menander in *Leukadia*'; an anonymous anthology in a Paris ms. also cites the fragment without naming either author or play.

A man who holds his hand outstretched for cash  
Plans villainy, though he may yet deny it!

*Speaker and situation are unknown.*

### Fr. 5

Stobaeus ('On poverty, I: praise of poverty'), with the heading 'in Menander's *Leukadia*':

The poor are always held to be gods' creatures.

*Speaker and situation are unknown.*

### Fr. 6

Three Lexica, all defining ζάκορος as follows: temple attendant, or the woman who works in and around the shrine—so Menander in *Dis Exapaton* (= fr. 5 Arnott) . . . — and the male (*sic*) servant—so in *Leukadia*,

# MENANDER

(?)

ἐπίθες τὸ πῦρ, ἢ ζάκορος.

ΖΑΚΟΡΟΣ

οὕτωςί;

(?)

καλῶς.

Part-division Arnott. ἢ ζάκορος *Et. Gen.*, Photius: ἢ ζάκορος ἱερέως *Suda* (? misplaced here by a scribe from an original position before ὑπηρέτης). οὕτωςι καλῶς *Suda*: οὕτοσι καλός Photius, both words omitted in *Et. Gen.*

## Fr. 7 (262 KT)

A scholion on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 284 (Σ<sup>vet.</sup>, c Wilson) τῷ δὲ συντρίβειν καὶ Μένανδρος κέχρηται ἐν Λευκαδία καὶ ἐν Ἀσπίδι (sc. συντετριμμένην, v. 73).

## Fr. 8 (260 KT)

Zenobius 6. 13 (vulgate recension, Leutsch-Schneidewin 1 p. 165) s.v. τὰς ἐν τῇ φαρέτρᾳ ψηφίδας· Φύλαρχός (mss. PHB: φιλ- mss. vulg.) φησι (*FGrH* 81 F 83, 2A p. 188 Jacoby) τοὺς Σκύθας μέλλοντας καθεύδειν ἄγειν τὴν φαρέτραν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλύπως τύχοιεν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διαγαγόντες (mss. BV and *Suda*, see below: διάγοντες vulg.), καθιέναι εἰς τὴν φαρέτραν ψηφίδα λευκὴν· εἰ δὲ ὀχληρῶς, μέλαιναν. ἐπὶ τοῖνυν τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἐκφέρειν τὰς φαρέτρας καὶ ἀριθμεῖν τὰς ψήφους· καὶ εἰ εὗρεθείησαν πλείους αἱ λευκαί, εὐδαιμονίζειν τὸν ἀπογενόμενον. . . . καὶ Μένανδρος δέ φησιν (BV: φασι other mss.) ἐν Λευκαδία (corr. Meineke: Λευκάδι BV, Λευκαδίῳ other mss.) τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἡμέραν λευκὴν καλεῖσθαι (corr. Meineke: καλεῖν

## LEUKADIA

(?)

Attendant, put the fire on!

TEMPLE SERVANT

Like this?

(?)

Fine!

*This line seems to be part of a dialogue in which the temple servant is being requested by an unidentified character to place burning wood or charcoal (presumably from a brazier) on the altar outside her temple. It seems odd that the lexica define such temple servants as male, when the Greek word for 'attendant' in the fragment itself is accompanied by a feminine form of the definite article.*

### Fr. 7

A scholion on Aristophanes' *Acharnians*: and Menander has used the word *συντρίβειν* (to shatter/buckle/beat) in *Leukadia* and in *Aspis* ('buckled' v. 73).

### Fr. 8

The collection of proverbs attributed to Zenobius: 'The pebbles in the quiver'. Phylarchus<sup>a</sup> says that when Scythians were going to bed, they brought their quiver, and if they had spent that day free from pain or grief, they dropped into the quiver a white pebble, but if the day had been troublesome, a black one. So at the time of their deaths the quivers were brought out and the pebbles counted. If the white ones were found to be more numerous, they called the man who had

<sup>a</sup> A Greek historian living in the third century B.C.

## MENANDER

mss.). See also *Suda* s.v. λευκὴ ἡμέρα (λ 323 Adler) with substantially the same information but omitting any reference to Menander.

### *Two further testimonia about Λευκαδία*

#### II (p. 96 KT)

The expanded version of Servius' commentary ('Servius auctus', 'Servius Danielis') on Virgil, *Aeneid* 3. 279 s.v. VOTIS-QUE INCENDIMUS ARAS: ... Varro enim templum Veneri ab Aenea conditum, ubi nunc Leucas est, dicit, (*corr. Ribbeck*: nunc leucasem dicit *ms. F*, ubi et leucata mons est *T*, ubi nunc leucate *codex Ambrosianus*, ubi nunc Leucatem dicit *vulgate mss. of Daniel*) quamuis Menander (*menarder F*) et Turpilius (*torpi- F*) comici (*Ambros.*: commici *F*, comicus *T*) a Phaone (*Commelinus*: facione *F*, fauone *T*, *Ambros.*) Lesbio id templum conditum dicunt.

#### III (p. 96 KT)

Harpocration (λ 10, p. 163 Keaney): Λευκας . . . νῆσός ἐστι πρὸ τῆς Ἠπείρου κειμένη . . . ἐν μέσῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ Μενάνδρου ἢ Λευκαδία.



## LEUKADIA

departed happy . . . Menander too says in *Leukadia* that a good day is described as 'white'.

### *Two further testimonia about Leukadia*

## II

The expanded version<sup>a</sup> of Servius' commentary on Virgil: For Varro says that Aeneas founded the temple to Venus where Leucas now is, although Menander and Turpilius say that this temple was founded by Phaon of Lesbos.

*The juxtaposition of the names of Menander and Turpilius here make it highly probable that this allegation about Phaon and the temple occurred in Menander's Leukadia. Did the allegation follow the reference to Sappho's suicide in the anapaestic dimeters of O.i/fr. 1 vv. 11–16? Did the commentary confuse temples of Apollo and Aphrodite? We have no means of knowing.*

## III

Harpocration s.v. Λευκάς ('Leucas'): . . . It is an island lying opposite the Epirus . . . Menander's play the *Leukadia* also (is set) inside (the island).

*This statement confirms what can be inferred from O.i/fr. 1 and O.ii about the scene of the play.*

<sup>a</sup> Sometimes called the Daniel version, because it was first printed in P. Daniel's edition of 1600. Cf. especially J. J. H. Savage, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 43 (1932), 77–121.



MISOUMENOS or THRASONIDES  
(THE HATED MAN or THRASONIDES)

## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

I = *P.IFAO* (an acronym for the *Institut Française de l'Archéologie Orientale* in Cairo) 89, a fragment from the top of a column of a papyrus roll, written in the third century A.D., perhaps as a school exercise. It contains lines 1–18<sup>1</sup> of the play. First edition: B. Boyaval, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 6 (1970), 1–5 with a photograph (pl. I); re-edited by L. Koenen, *ZPE* 6 (1970), 99–104, and 8 (1971), 141–142 with a new photograph (pl. III); cf. E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 48 (1981), 9–10.

C = *P. Cologne* 282, a further fragment from the same roll as *P.IFAO* 89, now in Cologne, containing portions of lines 18–30. First edition: M. Gronewald, *Kölner Papyri*, 7 (1991), 1–4 with a photograph (pl. Ia).

O.19 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3368, seven fragments (plus further scraps) of a papyrus of the third century A.D., containing (complete or in part) lines 1–18, 33–45, 51–68, 85–100 and eight insecurely placed lines (here provisionally numbered 241–248).

<sup>1</sup> On the new line-numbering, see later in the introduction to this play.

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O.20 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3369, two papyrus sheets from the third century A.D., pasted together and containing portions of lines 12–54 and 78–94.

O.21 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3370, three fragments of a papyrus roll from the third century A.D., containing portions of lines 29–43.

O.22 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3371, a tiny scrap of papyrus from the second century A.D., containing the play title Μισού[μενος] Μενά[νδρου].

Definitive editions of O.19–22 by E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 48 (1981), 1–21 with photographs (pls. I, II); see also his *The Papyrologist at Work = Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* monograph 6, (1972), 48–50 (O.19 vv. 1–18), and “The Lost Beginning of Menander Misoumenos”, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 63 (1978), 315–331 (O.19, 20).

O.11 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2657, three fragments of papyrus from the third century A.D., containing portions of lines 301–392 and a few letters from a further 17 lines (here fr. 2). First edition: E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 55–65 with photographs (pls. IV, V).

O.10 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2656, nine fragments from four leaves (two of them conjugate) of a papyrus codex written probably in the fourth century A.D., containing lines 501–806 and 959–996, mostly very mutilated (but 532–540, 560–578, 611–623, 631–638, 646–650, 659–688, 695–725 complete or less severely damaged); the title Μενάνδ[ρου] Θρασων[ίδης] is preserved at the end. First edition: E. G. Turner, *New Fragments of the*



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*Misoumenos* of Menander = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, suppl. 17 (1965), with complete photographs (pls. I–IX); re-edited by him in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 15–55. Lines 786–806 are re-edited by Margaret Maehler, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 59 (1992), 67–69.

B.3 = *P. Berlin* 13932, a fragment from a papyrus codex of the fifth century A.D., discovered at Hermupolis and containing portions of lines 532–544 and 560–572. First edition: W. Schubart, *Griechische literarische Papyri = Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 97/5 (1950), 47–50; cf. H. Maehler in *Lustrum*, 10 (1965), 154–156, C. Austin in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 17–19. No photographs are yet published, but this edition has benefited from unpublished ones kindly supplied by Dr C. Austin.

B.2 = *P. Berlin* 13281, the lower part of one leaf of a papyrus codex of the third century A.D., containing most of lines 567–578 and 611–622. First edition: U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Dichterfragmente aus der Papyrussammlung der Königlichen Museen 6: Neue Komödie = Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin 1918), 747–749; cf. W. Schubart, H. Maehler and C. Austin, *loc. cit.* under B.3 above. No photographs are yet published, but this edition has benefited from unpublished ones kindly supplied by Dr C. Austin.

O.3 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 1013, fragments of the lower part of one leaf of a papyrus codex from the fifth or sixth

## MISOUMENOS

century A.D., containing portions of lines 642 (or 643) to 646 (or 647), 649–665, 677–680, 683–700. First edition: A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 7 (1910), 103–110, without a photograph; cf. E. G. Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, suppl. 17, (1965), 42–45 and 48–51 with a photograph (pl. IX) of 642 (or 643) to 645 (or 646) and 649–656, and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (1968), 32–40.

O.23 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3967, a scrap from a papyrus roll of the third century A.D., containing the middle portions of lines 784–821. First edition: M. Maehler, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 59 (1992), 59–70, with photograph (pl. V).

O.7 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 1605, a narrow strip from a papyrus roll of the third century A.D., containing small portions of lines 919–932 and 948–974. First edition: B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 13 (1919), 45–47. No photograph is published.

O.26 = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 4025, a tiny scrap of the first century A.D. containing bits of six successive lines which have been plausibly assigned to the play. It is printed here as fragment 1, where the reason for its attribution to *Misoumenos* is given, and the attempt to match it with lines 752–756 rejected. First edition: P. J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 80 (1994), 46–47, with photograph (pl. III).

Fragments 1 (= O.11 fr. 3), 2 (= O.23 fr. 3) and 3 (= O.26) are unplaced scraps of papyrus, fragments 4 to 11 are attested quotations from the play by later authors (see introduction to Volume I, pp. xxiv f.), and fragment

12 a possible quotation. These fragments are printed after the end of the continuous play text, together with five testimonia to the play which seem informed and informative.

### *Pictorial Evidence*

A mosaic of the third century A.D. from the 'House of Menander' at Mytilene on Lesbos. This mosaic is inscribed M{E}ΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΤ ΜΕ(ΡΟΣ) Ε (*Misoumenos*, Act V), but since the three characters portrayed are not identified by name (as they are e.g. on the *Encheiridion* and *Epitrepontes* mosaics in the same house: see vol. I of this edition, pp. 358 f. and 381 f.), while the fragments of text preserved from the fifth act are scanty and mutilated, it is difficult to identify two of the figures or to explain what they are doing. On the right stands a woman (presumably Krateia, the slave girl owned and loved by Thrasonides) wearing a blue cloak and tunic, both edged with black, and an elaborate frontal. Her right arm is raised well above her shoulder. In the middle there is a man dressed in a white tunic and cloak, whose gesture is uncertain. On the left stands a man in a white tunic; his head is turned towards the other two, and he appears to be tightening around his neck a scarf whose ends are held firmly, one in each hand. One possibility is that the character on the left is Getas, Thrasonides' slave, using his gesture with the scarf to mime a recent threat or attempt by his master to strangle himself, while Krateia and her newly discovered father Demeas react with horror. Alternatively, the central figure could be Krateia's brother, whose arrival proved that previous reports of his death at the hands of Thrasonides were false; in that case Getas on

his left would now be reacting with pleasure, since Krateia's hatred of Thrasonides, arising from her belief that he had killed her brother, might now be replaced by affection. Standard edition of the mosaic: S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil and R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène = Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6 (Berne 1970), 57 ff. and colour plate 8; the authors draw attention to a cake-mould of the third century A.D. from Ostia which may possibly portray the same scene (p. 60 and plate 26; see also T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*<sup>2</sup> = *BICS Supplement* 24 (1969), p. 222 IT 80 and M. Maehler, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 59 (1992), 62 n. 6, but contrast M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*<sup>2</sup> (Princeton 1961), 241 and pl. 793, interpreting the mould design as a scene from tragedy).

This play is virtually always in our sources given the title *Μισούμενος*, but the colophon in one papyrus (O.10: see above) names it *Θρασων[ίδης]*. The existence of alternative titles was not unusual in ancient Greek drama, and a common reason for this was the popular tendency to refer to a play by the name of its leading character rather than by its official title.<sup>1</sup> In *Misoumenos* the role of the soldier Thrasonides appears to have so impressed audiences and readers that a mention of his name alone was often deemed enough to identify a reference to the play (see e.g. testimonia I, II, III). It was one of Menander's most popular plays; more papyri derive from it than from any other play, and ancient quotations from its opening scene in particular are remarkably

<sup>1</sup> See especially R. H. Hunter's edition of Eubulus (Cambridge 1983), 146 ff.



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numerous (11, of which 6 come from the first fifteen verses).

Although portions of over 590 of its lines survive, most of these are mangled and lacunose, and only about 160 are anywhere near complete, with a relatively small proportion yielding sections of continuous and so fully intelligible text (1-17, 88-97, 611-622, 659-688, 696-720 in my numbering). There are inevitably several passages of text whose interpretation is now uncertain, at times because it is linked to incidents in lost portions of the plot. In these places the translation cannot fail to be controversial.

Mainly as a result of this, it is difficult now to decide how far *Misoumenos* deserved its ancient celebrity, even though there are signs enough of imaginative writing, individualised characterisation (at least for Thrasonides and Getas) and entertaining situations to make us lament the existing state of the play's text. Certainly it would have needed capable actors, for Menander has incorporated in the preserved portions of text a number of passages which require their speakers to imitate voices other than their own (55 f., 85-87, 87 f., 532-534, 693-695, 698-700, 706-711, 797-798, 968-969). There is additionally a long monologue by Thrasonides (757-816) in which he not only imitates Krateia's voice but also is involved in an argument with himself.

No hypothesis, didascalie notice, or cast-list is preserved for *Misoumenos*. Although its date of production is nowhere recorded, it contains references to events in Cyprus which were probably intended to provide a plausible historical background to the staged action. At 632 ff. Demeas complains that in Cyprus war had scattered



families, and Getas goes on to explain that this was how Krateia came to be a slave of Thrasonides.<sup>1</sup> Fragment 5 appears to identify Thrasonides as having served with distinction under one of the kings of Cyprus. These references may imply that Thrasonides was presented as a mercenary who had fought in support of one of the ten Cypriot kings when Ptolemy I was campaigning between 321 and 309 B.C. to bring the island under his control, and it seems likely that the play was written at some time during or shortly after that period.<sup>2</sup>

With considerable hesitation I have decided on a complete renumbering of the lines of the play. Editors of the papyri discovered before the Second World War numbered their lines sequentially, without allowing for lacunae, and so when further texts came to light in the last thirty years or so they could be accommodated to the pre-existing schemes at times only by the addition of letters and stars (thus A1–A100, 194a, 194b, 375a, 375b, 380a, 380b, 404\*–418\*), which are clumsy and confusing. Accordingly I have introduced a new scheme which may be more straightforward and still serviceable in the future if further portions of text surface from the Egyptian sands. It does not aim to be accurate after line 100, and does not imply any theories about the length of gaps in

<sup>1</sup> The context here leaves it unclear whether Krateia was enslaved in Cyprus or elsewhere. If she and her family were Athenians, she could have been seized by pirates during a raid on the coast of Attica (compare *Men. Sik.* 354 ff.), and then shipped off and sold as a slave in Cyprus.

<sup>2</sup> So E. G. Turner, *BICS*, suppl. 17 (1965), 17, and see especially G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 1 (Cambridge 1940), 113–115, 156–178.

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our text or the original length of the play, about which no information has survived. An attempt has been made to keep the last one or two digits, wherever possible, identical with those in the recent editions of E. G. Turner (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33, 1968, 15 ff.), F. H. Sandbach (Oxford 1972<sup>1</sup>, 1990<sup>2</sup>) and F. Sisti (Genoa 1986). As a further aid I add these scholars' line-numberings in brackets.

	Arnott	Sandbach, Sisti and (in Acts IV, V) Maehler
Act I	1–100	A1–A100
Act 1	241–248	p. 364 Sandbach <sup>2</sup> (unnumbered) = fr. 1 Sisti <sup>1</sup>
?Act II	401–493	1–93
Act III	501–676	101–275 (including 194a, 194b)
Act IV	677–816	276–403 (including 375a, 375b, 380a, 380b) Sandbach, Sisti along with 404*–413* Maehler
Act V	817–821	414*–418* Maehler
Act V	919–932	404–417 Sisti
Act V	948–996	418–466 Sandbach, Sisti

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known:

Thrasonides, a mercenary soldier just returned from a  
campaign in Cyprus

Getas, male slave of Thrasonides

Krateia, a young slave girl owned and loved by  
Thrasonides

## MISOUMENOS

Krateia's nurse, apparently named Chrysis<sup>1</sup>

Demeas, Krateia's father, newly (?) arrived from Cyprus

Kleinias, a young (?) man

An old woman, slave of Kleinias, apparently named Syra<sup>1</sup>

In the missing sections of the play other characters will have had speaking parts: almost certainly a god or goddess as prologue, probably Krateia's brother, possibly the unidentified fat-faced man of 560 f. Simiche, an elderly (?) female slave probably owned by Thrasonides, and a cook appear as mutes in preserved sections of the text; they may have had speaking roles in one or more lost scenes. There was also a chorus to perform the entr'actes.

<sup>1</sup> See the note on line 555.

## ΜΙΣΟΤΜΕΝΟΣ

### ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

- (A 1) ὦ Νύξ, σὺ γὰρ δὴ πλείστον Ἀφροδίτης μέρος  
μετέχεις θεῶν, ἐν σοί τε περὶ τούτων λόγοι  
πλείστοι λέγονται φροντίδες τ' ἐρωτικάί,  
ἂρ' ἄλλον ἄνθρωπόν τιν' ἀθλιώτερον  
5 ἐόρακας; ἂρ' ἐρώντα δυσποτμώτερον;  
πρὸς ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ νῦν θύραις ἔστηκ' ἐγὼ  
(A 7) ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, περιπατῶ τ' ἄνω κάτω—  
ἀμφοτερά<κι>ς—μεχρι νῦν, μεσούσης σου σχεδόν,

1-2 KT fr. 789; 4-5 *Mis.* fr. 6 Kō.; 6 KT fr. 664.

1-11 I, O.19 4 *αρααλλον* O.19: *τίνα ἄλλον* ΣC<sup>2</sup> and  
"Απολλον other mss. of Plutarch *Mor.* 525a citing lines 4-5.  
ἀθλιώτερον Σθn of Plut., ]θλιωτερον O.19: ἀθλιώτατον other  
mss. of Plut., αθλιωτατο[ I. 5 *εορακας* O.19: ἐώρακας mss.  
of Plut. ἄρα Σθn of Plut., *αρα* O.19: ἦ other mss. of Plut.  
δυσποτμώτερον mss. of Plut., ]ποτμω[.]ερον O.19: δυσποτμω-  
τατο[ I. 6 νῦν omitted by Apollonius *Synt.* 2. 107 (II. 2  
p. 209. 5 Uhlig) citing this line. 7 *περιπατω* I: -πατων O.19.  
8 ἀμφοτερά<κι>ς Arnott: ἀμφοτερας O.19 ([εχ[. .]νν I).

## MISOUMENOS

(The Hated Man)

(SCENE: A street in a city which is not identified in the preserved portions of the play; it is perhaps more likely to have been Athens than a city on an island in the east Mediterranean such as Rhodes. This street is backed by at least two houses, one belonging to Thrasonides, the other to Kleinias; a third house, belonging to the otherwise unidentified fat-faced man of 620 f., might be either visible on stage or more probably imagined as just beyond a side entrance. The play's opening is preserved. In the middle of a cold and wet night Thrasonides is seen, sometimes pacing to and fro before his house, sometimes standing miserably in his doorway.)

### THRASONIDES

O Night—for you've the largest share in sex  
Of all the gods, and in your shades are spoken  
Most words of love and thoughts charged with desire—  
Have you seen any other man more racked  
With misery? A lover more ill-starred?  
Now either at my own front door I stand,  
Here in the alley, or I saunter up  
And down, both ways (?), when I could lie asleep

5



# MENANDER

- ἔξ' ὃν καθεύδειν τήν τ' ἐρωμένην ἔχειν.  
 10 παρ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον, ἔξεστίν τέ μοι  
 καὶ βούλομαι τοῦθ' ὥς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα  
 (A 12) ἐρῶν τις, οὐ ποιῶ δ'. ὑπαιθρίῳ δέ μοι  
 χεῖμ[ῶνος ὅ]ντος ἐστὶν αἰρετώτερον  
 ἐστη[κέναι] τρέμοντι καὶ λαλοῦντί σοι.

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

- 15 τὸ δ[ὴ λεγόμε]νον, οὐδὲ κυνί, μὰ τοὺς θε[ούς],  
 νῦν [ἐξι]τητόν ἐστιν, ὃ δ' ἐμὸς δεσπότης  
 (A 17) ὥσπερ θέρους μέσου περιπατεῖ φιλοσο[φῶν]  
 τοσαῦτ'. [ἀ]πολεῖ μ'. οὐ δρυνινός; [.]. .εα. .π[  
 δ]ιατριβῶν γ' ἐγκα. . . πεσ[  
 20 ]. .ει τὴν θύραν. ὦ δυστυχής,  
 τί οὐ καθεύδεις; σύ μ' ἀποκναίεις περιπατῶν.

9 Adesp. fr. 282 Kock; 10–12 *Mis.* fr. 5 Kō.; 15 Alciphron 2. 27. 1; 20–21 KT fr. 124 + *Mis.* fr. 9 Kō.

9 ἔξ' ὃν Chariton 4. 4. 7, scholia to Eur. *Phoen.* 478, Ar. *Ach.* 1164b and Eustathius 232.32 citing the line: ἐξω O.19. τε O.19, τ I: τε omitted by mss. of scholia and Eustath. ἔχειν Chariton, εχει I: εχει O.19, ἔχων scholia and Eustath. 10 τεμοι O.19, τε I: τε omitted by mss. of Plut. *Mor.* 525a citing the line, some of them giving ἔνδον ἔνδον. 11 τουτοως O.19, τουτ'θως I. 12–17 I, O.19, O.20 12 οὐ ποιῶ δέ mss. of Plut., ]ιωδε I: ουτωωδε O.19. 13 Suppl. Turner: ]τοσεστ[.]ν I, ]ντοσε[ O.20, χεῖμ[. . . . .]εστιν O.20 with insufficient space for what is clearly the correct text. 14 Suppl. Rea. λαλουντι O.20, λα[.]ντι I: καλουντι O.19. 15 δ[ὴ λεγόμε]νον suppl. Austin, Turner, θε[ούς] Turner (τουσθ[ I, το[ O.20: τωθεω O.19). 16 [ἐξι]τητόν West: [. . .].ητεον O.19. 17 Suppl. Handley. 18 C, O.19, O.20. τοσαῦτ' Barigazzi: τοσουτ

# MISOUMENOS

Till now, when you, O Night, have nearly run  
 Half course, and clasp my love. She's in there—in 10  
 My house, I've got the chance, I want it just  
 As much as the most ardent lover—yet  
 I don't . . . I'd rather stand here shivering  
 Beneath a wintry sky—chatting to you!

*(Getas now emerges from Thrasonides' house, but at first keeps his distance from his master, who is at this point walking up and down.)*

## GETAS

Dear gods! It isn't fit even to allow 15  
 A dog [outside] now, as [they say]!<sup>a</sup> My master,  
 Though, tramps round like a professor,<sup>b</sup> just as if  
 It were midsummer!—he'll . . . 18

*(The following line and a half are too fractured for coherent translation. Getas goes on to say '[Is]n't he like an oak' (i.e. (?) 'stupid'), presumably referring to Thrasonides, and then there is a reference to 'wasting time' or 'pastimes/discourses'.)*

[He . . . ] the door. Poor fellow, why 20  
 Aren't you asleep? Your tramping worries me.

<sup>a</sup> An adage of the time.

<sup>b</sup> Literally 'doing all this philosophising'. In Menander's time the comic poets of Athens ridiculed philosophers and other teachers for a habit of pacing up and down as they lectured. See my commentary on Alexis (Cambridge 1996/1997), fr. 151 (147K) lines 1–3.

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apparently O.19. 19–28 C, O.20. 19 Either δ]ιατρίβων (participle) or -τριβῶν (noun).

# MENANDER

(A 22) ἡ καὶ καθε]ύδεις; περίμεν' εἰ μ' ἐγρη[γ]ορῶς  
 ὀρᾶς.]

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

[Γέτα, σ]ὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἐξελήλυθας;  
 τί βουλό]μενος; πότερα κελευσθε[ί]ς; <ο>ὔποτε  
 25 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γάρ,] ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ σταντοῦ π[ο]ῶν;

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἐ]κέλευον οἱ καθεύδ[ο]ντες.

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

Γέτα,

(A 27) παρήσθας, ὥς] ἔοικε, κηδεμῶν ἐμός.

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

εἴσελθε καὶ νῦν, ὦ μακάρι'. ἐν πα[ντ]ὶ γὰρ  
 ἦσθας μακ]άριος.

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

τίς; [ἀ]τυχῶ δεινῶς, π[αθών]  
 30 ἤδη κάκ', ὦ Γέ]τα, <τὰ> μέγιστ'. ἀλλ' οὐδέπω  
 καιρὸς καθο]ρᾶν σ'. ἐχθὲς γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἰκ[ί]αν

28 *Mis. fr. 11 Kö.*

22 ἡ καὶ καθε]ύδεις; suppl. Sandbach, ἐγρη[γ]ορῶς Turner.  
 23 ὀρᾶς; (Thr.) Γέτα suppl. Sandbach *exempli gratia*. σ]ὺ δ'  
 αὐτὸς Handley: ]υδιαντος O.20. 24 τί βουλό]μενος; suppl.  
 Sandbach, Barrett, πότ[ε]ρα Sandbach, κελευσθε[ί]ς and  
 <ο>ὔποτε Austin (υποτε O.20). 25 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γάρ suppl.  
 Sandbach, π[ο]ῶν Turner π[οι]ων probably O.20). 26 μὰ  
 Δί' οὐκ suppl. Sandbach (μὰ Δί' already Handley), καθεύδ[ο]ν-  
 τες Turner. 27 παρήσθας suppl. Sandbach, ὥς Cockle.

# MISOUMENOS

[Or] are you [really] sleeping?

(*Getas now intercepts Thrasonides.*)

Wait, if you're awake

[And see me.]

THRASONIDES

[Getas,] is that *you* out here? [What do]

[You want?] Were you given orders? Not [by me]!

Or is such action all your own idea?

25

GETAS

[Good heavens! no] orders came from men asleep!

THRASONIDES

Getas, it seems [you came here] as my nurse!

GETAS

Good sir, do go in now—[you've] always [had]

Good luck.<sup>a</sup>

THRASONIDES

Who? Me? My luck's been terrible,

[Getas! I'm in the] greatest [trouble], but

You've not had [time to notice] yet, you only

30

<sup>a</sup> Getas' pun on ὦ μακάρι' ('good sir!') and the following μακ]άριος (literally 'lucky') is difficult to convey effectively in English.

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28 καὶ νῦν scholion on Dem. 2. 14 citing Getas' words: ]αιννν O.20. πα[ντ]ι suppl. Handley. 29–30 C, O.20, O.21. 29 ἦσθας suppl. Sandbach, μακ]άριος Lloyd-Jones, [ἀ]τυχωῶ Gronewald ([τυχω[ C, ]ντω O.20), π[αθών Arnott. 30 [ὦ Γέ]τα suppl. Gronewald, the rest (with <τὰ> before μέγιστ') Arnott. Change of speaker before τίς suggested by Gronewald: dicolon after, not before τις in O.20 (O.21 here illegible). 31–32 O.20, O.21. 31 καιρὸς suppl. Arnott, the rest Turner.

MENANDER

(A 32) ἐλήλυθας τὴν ἡμετέ[ρα]ν σὺν διὰ χρό[νο]ν.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

τὸ στρατό]πεδον γὰρ [ὥς] ἀπῆρα καταλιπὼν  
ἦσθ' εἰκό]τως εὐψυχος· [ὅτ]ι δὲ τάττομαι  
35 ἐπὶ τῆς π]αραπομπῆς τ[ῶ]ν λαφύρων, ἔ[σχ]ατος  
ἤκω. τί δὲ τὸ λ]υποῦν σ';

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

ἐλείν' ὑβρίζομαι.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

(A 37) ὑπὸ τίνος;]

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

ὑπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου· πριάμενος  
αὐτήν, πε]ριθεὶς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς οἰκίας  
δέσποιν]αν ἀποδείξας, θεραπαίνας χρυσία  
40 ἱμάτια δο]ύς, γυναῖκα νομίσας.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

εἶτα τί;

γυνή σ' ὑβ]ρίζει;

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

καὶ λέγειν αἰσχύνομαι·

32 Suppl. Turner: ]τηνημετε[. .]νσυνδιαχρο[. .]ν O.20, ]νεληλυ-  
θασσυνδ.α. . . ν. . . O.21 (with the first word in the line presumably  
misplaced after ἡμετέραν). 33–43 O.19, O.20, O.21. 33 τὸ  
στρατό]πεδον Sisti (after τοῦ στρατο]πέδον deciph. and suppl.  
Cockle): ]πεδον O.20, ]ωι O.21. [ὥς] suppl. Handley.  
34 ἦσθ' suppl. Gronewald, εἰκό]τως and [ὅτ]ι Turner. εὐψυχος  
O.19, ε.ψν[.].[.] O.20: εὐ[.].[.] .δγχ.ρ[. .]τομα. O.21. 35 Suppl.  
Turner. 36 ἤκω suppl. Belardinelli and Gronewald, the rest



# MISOUMENOS

Returned home yesterday—it's been so long!

GETAS

[When] I set out, leaving [the] camp behind,  
[You were quite] cheerful. I was put in charge  
[Of] bringing back the spoils,<sup>a</sup> and [that's why I'm] 35  
Last [home. But what's] distressing you?

THRASONIDES

I'm sadly being  
Abused.

GETAS

[By whom?]

THRASONIDES

That captive girl. I bought  
[Her], promised her her freedom, made her my  
House[keeper], gave her servants, jewellery  
[And clothes], considered her my wife.

GETAS

What then? 40  
[A wife] abuses [you]?

THRASONIDES

I'm even ashamed to say —

<sup>a</sup> Like Daos at the beginning of Menander's *Aspis*. We must assume that Thrasonides and Krateia had arrived home from the campaign in Cyprus a good while before.

---

Turner. 37 Suppl. Turner. 38 αὐτήν suppl. Austin, πε]ρι-  
θεις Handley. 39 Suppl. Turner. 40 ἱμάτια suppl. Austin  
and Sandbach, δο]ύς Turner. 41 Suppl. Turner from Apollo-  
nius *Synt.* 1. 41 (II. 2 p. 37. 6 f. Uhlig) ἐκκείσθω δὲ ὑποδείγ-  
ματα, τοῦ μὲν προτέρου 'πῶς ἡ γυνή σ' ὕβρισε;'

MENANDER

(A 42) ὄφιν, λέ]αιναν —

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἀλλ' ἔμοιγ' ὁμως φράσον.

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

μισεῖ νέον] με μῖσος.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ὦ Μ[α]γνήτη· σὲ

μισεῖν; ἄτοπ]α γὰρ ὑπονοεῖς.

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

ἢ ἄνθρωπινον

45 οἴει τὸ τυχό]ν τ' εἶναι τόδ';

ΓΕΤΑΣ

οὐδὲ κ[υ]ρία

(Speakers and part-divisions in the next four lines are uncertain.)

]...[.]αν.[.].[ ]αι σφόδρ[α

(A 47) ..[ ]στειναιγα[

]πειρ...[

]...[

42 ὄφιν suppl. *exempli gratia* Arnott, λέ]αιναν Turner. ἔμοιγ' West: either εμοισ' (Turner) or εμοιγ' (Rea) O.20. 43 νέον suppl. Austin, the rest deciph., suppl. and corr. Turner (μεισος O.20, ]μει[ O.21). 44–45 O.19, O.20. 44 Suppl. Turner. ]ἄνθρωπιν.[ O.20: ἀνθρώπινον O.19 45 ]ντ'εῖνα. οδεστιν followed by dicolon O.20 (]τιν[ ]ονδ[ O.19): εστιν del. Turner, who also suppl. κ[υ]ρία. 46–50 O.20.

# MISOUMENOS

[Snake, savage monster!]

GETAS

Tell me, even so!

THRASONIDES

[She hates] me with a [strange new] hatred.

GETAS

Oh,

Opposite poles!<sup>a</sup> [Hate] you? [A weird] idea!

THRASONIDES

So

You think it's [normal, natural]?

GETAS (?)

She's not in charge

45

*(Of the next four lines only a few, mainly incomprehensible, letters are preserved, but very much can be deciphered at the end of 46. Continuous text returns towards the end of 50.)*

<sup>a</sup> This implied comparison of Krateia's present loathing (of Thrasonides) to the repulsion of (unlike) magnetic poles shows that the phenomenon was familiar already in Menander's time; later references to it can be found in Plutarch, *Moralia* 376b, and Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis* 1. 63. A magnet's power of attracting iron, however, was known in Greece to the philosopher Thales as early as the sixth century B.C. See G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1983<sup>2</sup>), 93 ff.

# MENANDER

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

50 τηρῶ τὸν Δία  
 ὕοντα πολλῶ νυκτὸς [οὔσ]ης, ἀστραπάς,  
 (A 52) βροντάς, ἔχων αὐτὴν δὲ κατὰκειμ'.

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

εἶτα τί;

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

κέκραγα “παιδίσκη· βαδίσαι γάρ”, φημί, “δεῖ  
 ἤδη με πρὸς τὸν δεῖν’,” <ὑπ>είπας ὄνομά τι.  
 55 πᾶσ’ ἂν γυνὴ δὴ τ[ο]ῦ[τό γ’] εἴποι “τοῦ Διὸς  
 ὕοντος, ὦ τάλαν; [πρὸς ἄνθρ]ωπὸν τινα;  
 (A 57) σκεπτ[ ]αστα[  
 58 ηδ[

(Lines 59–64 are torn off in O.19, apart from illegible traces of the opening letter of 59 and the opening three letters of 64.)

65 του[  
 ε. .[  
 (A 67) ο. .[  
 68 εκ.[

(Lines 69–84 are torn off in O.18, but O.20 provides the opening letters of 78–84.)

50–51 KT fr. 721

50 τὸν Δία Turnebus: *τοναία* mss. of Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina* IV p. 387 Mercier = II p. 620 Lindsay, citing this passage (O.20 here illegible). 51–54 O.19, O.20.  
 51 *νονταπολλῶ* O.19 (O.20 here defective): *νοντατιοχω*

# MISOUMENOS

## THRASONIDES

(*in mid-speech?*)

I'm waiting for

50

A heavy downpour after dark, with lightning and  
Thunder—then I'm in bed with her!

## GETAS

What then?

## THRASONIDES

I call out "Girl," I say "I've got to go

To see a man now," filling in some name.

Then any woman would respond [like this]:

55

"In this rain! You poor thing! [To see a man]

*(The next 28 lines (57–84) in the papyri are either totally lost or so badly damaged that only occasional words can be deciphered in the continuing dialogue between Thrasonides and Getas, which appears now primarily to have the function of describing the soldier's relationship with Krateia. Thrasonides may begin line 57 with one must consider, but whether Thrasonides here refers to himself*

---

mss. LBA, *τουτατιοχω* other mss. of Nonius. [οὔσ]ης Handley from ]ησ O.20: O.19 ends line with *νυκτοσαστ. πασβροντας* (*βροντάς* transposed to beginning of 52 by Handley).

52 *αὐτήν* δὲ Handley: *δεαυτην* O.19. *κατάκειμ'* Handley (*]ατακειμ[* O.20): *κατακειμαι* O.19 followed by one-letter space.

53 Corr. Turner: *βιδισαι* O.19 (*]δισαι* O.20). 54 *δεῖν'*,

<ὕπ>είπας Arnott: *δεινα ειπας* O.19 (with space between *να* and *ει* filled by prolonged tail of α). 55–68 O.19. 55 Suppl.

Handley. It is uncertain where the quotation beginning *τοῦ Διὸς* ends. 56 Suppl. Austin and West. 57 *σκεπτ[έον*

suppl. *exempli gratia* Turner.



# MENANDER

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ (?)

- 78 φησωνμο[  
(A 79) ὁ τοίχος ουτ[  
80 ερεισεαυτ[  
οὐκ εἰκότ[

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

- (A 82) ὦ τᾶν, ταπ[  
τρόπον τε.[  
ὑπερεντρ[υφ

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ (?)

- 85 αὕτη 'στί· [πρ]όσεχ', ὦ φιλ[τάτη, τὸν νοῦν ἐμοί·  
παρορωμένῳ δὲ πε[ριβαλεῖς 'παραχρήμά μοι  
(A 87) φιλονικίαν, πόνον, μανί[αν

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

τί, ὦ κακόδαιμον;

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ἄν, φι[λοφρόνως  
κλη[θ]εῖς μόνον, θύσαιμι πᾶσι τοῖς θε[ο]ῖς.

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

- 90 τί [νε]ὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ κακόν; οὐδὲ γὰρ σφόδρ' εἶ

78–84 O.20.

78–81 assigned to Thrasonides by Turner.

80 ἐρεῖ σεαυτ[ or ἐρεῖς έαυτ[. 84 Suppl. Turner.

85–94 O.19, O.20. 85, 87 Suppl. Turner. 85 αυτηεστ[  
O.20. 86 Suppl. *exempli gratia* Turner. 88 Suppl. Lloyd-

Jones. Change of speaker indicated by Turner: no paragraphus  
in O.19, O.20. 89 Suppl. Turner. 90 [νε]ον Sisti: π[οι]ο-

ναν O.19, τι[ O.20. σφοδραει O.19.

## MISOUMENOS

*or whether he is still quoting Krateia's words is uncertain. Between 78 and 81 Thrasonides appears to be speaking, but the surviving words (78 tell = perhaps to tell me, 79 the wall, 80 you or he or she will say, 81 not seemly/likely) do not illuminate their context. At 82 Getas intervenes and possibly goes on to the end of 84; his identifiable words (82 Oh sir, 83 a way, 84 too haughty or too extravagant) may belong to a context in which Thrasonides' troubles are being explained at least partly as a result of his low pay and Krateia's more extravagant expectations.)*

### THRASONIDES

[That's what] she is. "Darling, give [me your heart]. 85  
If you ignore me, [you'll fill me at once]  
With jealousy, distress and frenzy [

### GETAS

Poor man, why so?

### THRASONIDES

"And yet, if greeted [with kind words],  
I'd sacrifice to all the gods."<sup>a</sup>

### GETAS

But what

The hell's gone wrong [now]? You're not too repulsive, 90

<sup>a</sup> Presumably here Thrasonides is apostrophising Krateia.

# MENANDER

(A 92) ἄκ[ρ]ως ἀηδὴς ὥστε γ' εἰπεῖν· ἀλλά σο[ι]  
τὸ μικρὸν ἀμέλε[ι] τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ [βλάβη·  
ἀλ[λ]' ὄψιν ὑπεράστειος· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄγ[εις  
ἐφ'] ἡλικίας . . ναα.ε. . . ποθεν.[

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

95 κακῶς ἀ[π]όλοιο· δεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εὐρεῖν [ὅ τι  
ἐστίν ποτ', αἰτίαν ἀναγκ[α]ίαν τινὰ  
(A 97) δεῖ]ξαι.

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

μιαρὸν τὸ φύλόν [ἐσ]τι, δέσ[π]οτ[α].

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

ἂν μ]ῇ παρῆ[ς] —

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

σὺ δέ γ' ἂ διηγεί, δέσπ[οτα],  
.....]ομο..... πρὸς [τι] συκάζει τέ [σε  
100 αὐτό]νομο[ς· ο]ὕκ ἀεὶ γ[ὰρ ε]ὔλογός τε [τις

(The rest of Act I is lost, apart from one scrap of eight mutilated verses in O.19 (fr. C) which is difficult to place. In it Getas is conversing with another character (probably

91–93 Suppl. Turner. 91 Continued to Thrasonides by Turner: paragraphus and deleted speaker's name in left-hand margin of O.20. γεειπεν O.19. 92 μικρον O.19. 93 Suppl. Turner, who rightly ignores paragraphus under the line in O.20. αλλαμμην O.19 with second μ deleted and another ην written above it. 94 ἐφ' suppl. Arnott. 95–100 O.19. 95–97 Suppl. Turner. 97 Change of speaker suggested by Handley (? παρη[ς:]σιν O.19). 98–100 Deciph. and suppl. Turner (the beginning of 100 very hesitantly).

# MISOUMENOS

Not unduly so, to speak of. But of course  
 The meagreness of army pay [won't help]!  
 Your features, though, have charm. And yet [you]  
     bring  
 [A girl in] her prime [

## THRASONIDES

(*angered by Getas' reference to Krateia*)  
 Be damned to you! We must discover [what]'s  
 The matter, and [show] some compelling cause.<sup>a</sup>

95

## GETAS

But master, women are a filthy crowd!

## THRASONIDES

[If you] don't stop—

## GETAS

(*interrupting*)

What you're describing, master,  
     ] for [some] reason, she's enticing [you]  
 On purpose. There's not always [any] logical

100

(*A further scrap, printed on p. 272 but too badly damaged for continuous translation, is plausibly assigned to the first act. It appears to derive from a later conversation between Thrasonides and Getas. From Thrasonides' initial speech only 241 come down, 242 her not . . . ing, Getas and 243 she going away can be deciphered; Thrasonides is clearly still harping on the rift between himself and Krateia. Getas responds with 244 [Ap]ollo, and very military . . . , 245 now you see; I'm going in . . . , 246 muggers on me . . . walking around . . . , 247 and avoiding them, laid back. Thrasonides then makes a further speech, from*

<sup>a</sup> Sc. for Krateia's coolness to Thrasonides.

## MENANDER

Thrasonides) about a woman (probably Krateia), and he announces that he is going inside in order apparently to avoid some approaching muggers. The latter remark is very similar to an attested variation (in Alexis fr. 112 Kassel-Austin) of the formula for introducing the chorus at the end of the first act, and it may have had that function here; for this reason I provisionally number the lines of this fragment 241–248.)

241 ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ (?)  
 ].π[. . . [.]δ.[ ]ωκαταβη.[  
 ἐκ]είνης οὐκ . . . ούσης, Γέτα [  
 (fr. C 3) ]νης· . . . [.] ἀπιούσα δ[  
 ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)<sup>1</sup>  
 ὙΑπ]ολλον, καὶ μάλα στρατιωτ[ικ  
 245 ]ασαι νῦν ὀρᾶς· εἰσέρχομα[ι  
 ]. λωποδύτας μοι περιπ[ατῶν  
 (7) τ]ούτους τε φ[ε]ύγων ἐκλύτ[ως  
 ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ (?)  
 248 ]τερος, ὦ τάλαιπ[ωρ'

(ΜΕΡΟΣ Β')

$$\begin{aligned} & 401 \quad ]\nu \\ & \quad ]s \\ (3 \text{ Si}) \quad & ] \end{aligned}$$

241–248 Supplements and assignments to speakers suggested by  
Turner. 401–494 O.11.



## MISOUMENOS

*which only 248 poor [fellow] can be made out. If the muggers mentioned by Getas are the approaching chorus, this scrap would have come right at the end of the first act.*

*In that case probably 100 lines or more have been lost between the scrap and line 100. It is hazardous to speculate in detail about what this gap would have contained, but most probably a delayed prologue speech by a now unidentified divine figure would have given an accurate account of the events that preceded the stage action, and so would have dispelled for the audience some of the mysteries and misunderstandings that continue to plague the human characters for most of the play. Doubtless this prologue would have explained how Demeas, his daughter Krateia and a grown-up son had been separated by warfare in Cyprus. The daughter had been enslaved as a prisoner of war and purchased by Thrasonides, who had fallen desperately in love with her. The son had been involved in the fighting, and was now believed by Krateia to have been killed by Thrasonides, because the latter now possessed her brother's sword and probably had boasted of slaying the man who had wielded it. Hence Krateia's aversion to Thrasonides. It is conceivable that Thrasonides' victim had been another man who snatched up the wrong sword in an emergency (compare *Aspis* 106 ff.), and Krateia's brother had escaped unscathed.)*

### (ACT II)

*(A further papyrus (O.11) contains 94 badly mutilated lines which do not overlap with any of the other papyri or with quoted fragments of the play, but clearly belong to the Misoumenos, as its first editor E. G. Turner pointed*

# MENANDER

		]εκ. .[. . .]τομου
405	(ΓΕΤΑΣ ?)	]ετους λογίζεται
		γ]εγεννημένον
(7 Sa, Si)		] .π ὑπονοεῖς
		] δέσποτα
	(ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ)	εἰ]σιών, Γέτα
410		]ικεκ.[ ] .[ ] πόνους
		] .φεισ. . . ις
(12)		] . ἀνεωγμένον
		]οἶκτον π. .εμοι
		] .ζυ[
415		] .ας <sub>1</sub> εἶδέ (?) τις
		]α. .ηχεν γέ μοι

406 Suppl. and corr. Turner: ]εγεννημενον O.11.

407 ὑπονοεῖς deciphered by Sisti.

408 δέσποτα implies that Getas speaks here, but it is uncertain where his speech begins.

409 Suppl. Turner. The address to Getas implies that Thrasonides now speaks.

415 εἶδε O.11.

416–417 Demeas may enter hereabouts and begin speaking.

---

<sup>a</sup> See especially E. W. Handley, *Entretiens Hardt* 16 (1970) 11 f.

## MISOUMENOS

out. O.11 names a Getas (402), a Krateia (442, probably 459), and a ξένος ('stranger' or 'guest-friend' 424, 427, 431) who is old (437, 453) and comes from another city (431), though apparently he was not ransoming slaves (432 f.); all these details (except perhaps the last) tie in perfectly with the plot of Misoumenos. The old ξένος must be Krateia's father Demeas, appearing here for the first time in the play, at some point before the events of Act III in which he takes a leading part. O.11 can hardly derive from Act I, where the existing papyrus fragments and the postulated divine prologue would occupy too many lines for the insertion of O.11 into that act to be feasible; these 94 lines must then belong to Act II, most probably its second half, because it is characteristic of Menander<sup>a</sup> to introduce surprising new developments such as the unexpected arrival of a new character like Demeas towards the end of an act. Hence I provisionally number these lines 401–494.

The mutilation of O.11 makes continuous translation and confident assignment of parts often impossible. Its opening section (401 to somewhere about 414–415) involves two characters, Getas (409) and his master (408) Thrasonides. The subject of their conversation can no longer be identified (405 yields he or more probably she considers: the person being discussed by Getas and his master is most likely to have been Krateia; 406 having become or happened, 407 you suspect, 408 O master, 409 going in, Getas, where the person going is male, 410 distress or toils, 412 having been opened, 413 pity for me), but these lines suggest that for some unknown purpose one of the two characters goes off into Thrasonides' house shortly after 409; this is more likely to have been Getas,

# MENANDER

- (17) (ΔΗΜΕΑΣ)      *περὶ ἐκεῖ]νης γράμμα[τ]α*  
    *δε]ῦρ' ἄγω*  
    *] τί βούλεται;*  
 420                                   *ἐ]κ[εῖ]νην τὴν θύραν*  
    *τῇ]ν οἰκίαν*  
 (22)                                   *]ος γὰρ ἂν κόψαντί σοι*  
    *]ηγ' ἔστηκ' ἐγὼ*  
    *]α:*  
    ( ? )  
    *οὔτοσί (?) , ξένε*  
 425                                   *ἐκεῖ]νον γράμματα*  
    *']δο.τι. . . λαβε*  
 (27)                                   *]ρανω, ξένε*  
    *] . . . η . . ἡμέρας*  
    *] . αἰνονσα.ας*

417 *περὶ* suppl. Arnott, the rest Turner.

418 Suppl. Handley.

420 Suppl. Austin.

423 *εστηκαεσω* with correcting *γ* written over *σ* of *εσω*.

424 Corr. Turner: *ουτοσει* O.11.

425 Suppl. Turner.

429 *σαβασ* or *σαθασ* O.11: *σ<π>άθας* conj. Turner.

leaving Thrasonides alone to deliver a short monologue about his woes (410, 413) before he makes his exit, probably into an unidentified house either on or just off stage where he has an invitation to dine and drink (see 571 f. below).

When Demeas comes on to an empty stage, he is possibly alone, possibly accompanied by two or more slaves (see below on 449–474). He has probably just arrived at the scene of the play after a voyage from Cyprus, and is making for Kleinias' house. Kleinias appears to have been a friend of Demeas, and may have induced Demeas to visit him by sending him a letter (cf. 417, 425) with news about one or both of Demeas' children. It is impossible to say at what line precisely Demeas enters (415 either someone saw or but if someone could be Thrasonides or Demeas), but by 417 Demeas is delivering an entrance monologue (417 letter, 418 here (?) I bring, 419 what does it mean?), which, with its closing references to that door (420) and the house (421), suggests that he has now reached Kleinias' door and is preparing to knock on it.

The person who opens the door repeatedly addresses Demeas not by name but as ξέvre, here probably stranger (424, 427, 431), and does not know where he has come from (431). This rules out his or her identification as Demeas' friend Kleinias; more probably it was Kleinias' old female slave who appears again later in the play, where she is addressed by name as Syra (see 555 below) and comments on Demeas' odd behaviour (576 ff.); cf. also the discussion of 501–531 below. The first part of their conversation, after the old woman has said to you having knocked, you see (422) and Demeas has responded I'm standing (423), is too badly damaged to be comprehen-



MENANDER

430

] οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν

ΓΡΑΥΣ

]μεθα· ποδαπὸς εἶ, ξένε;

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

(32) ἐγώ; πα[ρά Κύπρον.]

ΓΡΑΥΣ

[σώμα]τ' οὖν λυτρούμενος

ἤκεις σὺ [δεῦρο;]

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

[μὰ τὸν Ἀ]πόλλω, ὃ γὰρ μὲν οὐ,

ἀλλ' ἔνεκα [ .τος γενομένης

435

ζητοῦσι μ[ ]. νύεται

αὕτη δὲ π[οῦ ὅστις

ΓΡΑΥΣ

τί] φήσ;

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

τοῦτό μοι

(37) συμπράξ[ον

432 πα[ρά Κύπρον] (with dicolon after it) suppl. Turner, [σώμα]τ' Handley, who suggested punctuation after ἐγώ. 433 ἤκεις σὺ Austin: ηκισσιν O.11. δεῦρο suppl. Austin, μὰ τὸν Ἀ]πόλλω Handley. ὃ γὰρ μὲν Handley: γεμεν O.11. 434 O.11 has αλ with second λ written above. 436 π[οῦ suppl. Austin, ὅστις Arnott, τί Sisti. 437 συνπραξ[ O.11: corr. and suppl. Turner, who suggested change of speaker after it (no paragraphus below the line in O.11).

# MISOUMENOS

*sible; a mention of his (?) letter (425) perhaps comes from Demeas' explanation of his presence at Kleinias' door (see above), but other phrases hereabouts (the slave's words this [person/thing] here, stranger (424), take or took 426, day or days 428) are just isolated pieces of a lost jigsaw. At 430 the text is less mutilated for a few lines.)*

DEMEAS

] I can't say 430

OLD WOMAN

] we [ ]. Stranger, where's your home?

DEMEAS

My home? It's [Cyprus].

OLD WOMAN

Is that why you've come  
[Here], ransoming [slaves]?

DEMEAS

Heavens, no! Not I!  
I came for [a girl] who's become [  
Men seek (*or* seeking) [  
But w[here is] she herself? 435

OLD WOMAN

[What do] you mean?

DEMEAS

Join me in this [ ].

MENANDER

ΓΡΑΥΣ

]μαι τόδε, γέρον,

ἄλλοις πα[

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

ἰ]χνεύων πάλιν

ἐὰν δαμ[

ΓΡΑΥΣ

[ ]

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

]νη

440 σωτῆρ κ[εκλήσει

ΓΡΑΥΣ

τί τοῦνομ' [

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

(42) \_\_\_Κράτειαν [

ΓΡΑΥΣ

\_\_\_ἐστιν πα[  
\_\_\_οὔτος γὰρ .[

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

445 ὦ Ζεῦ τρ[ο]π[αῖε  
ἀπροσδοκ[ητ

(47) .μινα.[  
\_\_\_μονηα[

α]γόρευετ' ον[

450 .αντωναρκ.[

]ιδίῳ παρεστ[

# MISOUMENOS

OLD WOMAN

Old man, that's [best left],

I think (?), to others.

DEMEAS

[            ] tracking again.

438

*(The text now reverts to isolated phrases in uncertain contexts. At 440 Demeas says [You will be called] my saviour; at 441 the old woman asks What's the name [of your daughter], to which Demeas replies Krateia (442). Here the two are clearly discussing the fate of Demeas' missing daughter, and when Demeas in 445 goes on to call out O Zeus, god of defeats (using an invocation voiced also by Deianeira in fear that her own children might be enslaved as captives: Sophocles, Trachiniae 303), following this with the word unexpected in 446, it seems likely that he has just learnt that a girl called Krateia lives next door as Thrasonides' slave (could οὗτος, this [man or thing] in 444 be a reference to Thrasonides?).*

*From 449 to 464 only occasional words can be deciphered: you (plural) are speaking 449 (? Demeas, referring to the old woman and others in Kleinias' house; or the old woman, meaning either Demeas and his family or Demeas and his present entourage, if he did not enter*

---

437 τοδ'ε O.11. 438 Paragraphus under the line in O.11. ἄλλοις or ἄλλ' οἷς. ἰ]χνεύων suppl. Turner. 440 Suppl. Turner. 442-484 O.11's paragraphi are here printed below the text, because speakers and speech-divisions are often difficult to identify. 442 Corr. Turner: κρατιαν O.11. 445 Suppl. Turner. 449 Suppl. Arnott (]γορευετ' Sisti).

MENANDER

- (52) ..[ ]ει[.]. .αρπ[  
 λε[...ε]ύξασθαι, γέρο[ν  
 ἔμελλ[...].[.]ε...[.].σι[  
 455 .πλο.[...].λ. .μοι.[ ]..[  
 ἐπει[.]. .θεῶν αδ[  
 (57) .π...[...]. .δος μοι.[  
 πῶς [..].ρα...σ[  
 Κρά[τεια....]μφ[  
 460 τ[.....]....τ' ὀψ.[  
 πη[.....]σ.[.].εν.[.]νγ.[  
 (62) α...[.]δ.κ[.]ν.[.]συμ[  
 παι.....λιν.[..].ου  
 κ.[..].ξε[.]...λλ.[ ]ντου.[  
 465 μὰ Δ[ία τ]ὰ τουπ.α.μοναλ[  
τρο.[...]. δὺ' ἐκατέρωθε[  
 (67) καὶ τοῦτο φοβερ[ὸ]ν ἐκπ[  
 φέρ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθε μοι, γερ[  
 εἰς τήν [ό]δόν. γελοῖον ε[  
 470 εἴσω λαβοῦσα· τουτονὶ δ.[

ΓΡΑΥΣ

- ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τήν α.[  
 (72) ὅπου 'στὶ μηδὲ τόνδ' ἔα[  
 πόει τὸ σαντοῦ πρῶτον [  
καλῶς· ἐγὼ δὲ συνβρα[

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- 475 πῶς οὖν;



# MISOUMENOS

*alone: see above on 415–417), to pray (or vaunt), old man 453, gods 456, give (?) me 457, Kra[teia (?)] 479; but up to this point there is no need to assume the presence of any new speaker. There follows a less chaotic group of lines (465–478) whose opening halves are reasonably well preserved.)*

OLD WOMAN (?)

By Zeus, no [

465

DEMEAS (?)

] two on either side [

OLD WOMAN (?)

And that [is] frightening[

DEMEAS (?)

[Old woman (?)], please bring forward [

Into the street. [It's] funny [

Taking inside. But the [man] here [

470

OLD WOMAN (?)

But [ ] to him (?) at once the [

Where he (*or she or it*) is, and don't let (?) him (?) [

Do your own job first [

Well. I [

DEMEAS

How then?

---

453 Suppl. Turner. 459 Suppl. Austin. 464 Three other letters written above .ξε. 465, 467, 469 Suppl. Turner.  
 466 δυοεκατερωθε[ O.11. 470 λαβουσα or λαβοντα O.11.  
 471, 475 Speech assignments uncertain.

ΓΡΑΤΣ

- [ἐρ]ώτα τήν [
- εὐροιμεν ἀ[ν]απαύσαντ[
- (77) ἀλλ' εὖ παθὼν .. χάριν [
- αὐτὴν γυναῖκα π[ροσ]δρ[αμ
- καν[ ]αι. .σαι.ει[. .]. [
- 480 ὑμ.[ ] .[.]. εινειμεσ[. .].
- μὰ τ[οὺ]ς θεοὺς κτ[
- (82) τρε.[. .].μενος γε[
- ορα.[. .].νε.κ'ν.[
- δαν.[. .]αναιτων[
- 485 κἀκ[ι]σ[το]ς ἀνδρῶ[ν
- .[. . . . .]τοπραξ[
- (87) ]μι παντ.[
- ]ονευρων[
- ]γυναικ.[
- 490 ]αι χάριν [
- ]ν λέγω μ[
- 492 ].[

475, 476, 478, 481 Suppl. Turner.

485 Suppl. Coles.

# MISOUMENOS

## OLD WOMAN

Ask the [

475

We find him hindering [

But faring well [       ] favour [

Her as a wife (?). Running to (?) [

478

*(These lines pose several problems, apart from the assignment of the words to the proper speakers. Who or what are 'two on either side' in 466? Has Demeas brought two slaves with him as a ransom for his missing son and daughter? Who or what is to be brought 'forward . . . into the street' at 468–469? Presumably not Krateia, for at least two reasons: there is no evidence that she was inside Kleinias' house, and the Greek for 'bring (a person)' is normally ἄγε not φέρε. And probably not the sword of Demeas' son, either; although this has an important function in the plot, there is no evidence that at this point it was in Kleinias' house, or that its relevance was known to Demeas. And who is to take what inside at 470? It is probable, but not certain, that the taker is female, and so likely to be Kleinias' old servant herself, but further speculation here is hazardous. Next, who is the man referred to in 470, 471, 476 and possibly 472? The remarks involving him point most convincingly to Thrasonides, who would be likely to hinder any attempt by an unknown man to see the woman whom Thrasonides had already said he considered as his wife (40). And finally, what is the job mentioned in 473?*

*From 479 onwards the papyrus yields only isolated words and phrases (no, by the gods 481, worst of men 485 (? a description of Thrasonides), act 486, having found 488, woman or wife 489, favour 490, I say 491), and we have no means of identifying the action. It is unlikely that*

(There is a gap of uncertain length between the end of papyrus O.11 at 492 and the beginning of O.10 at a line provisionally numbered here as 501. In that gap Act II ended and III began; since the remains of Act III cover 176 lines, it is unlikely that much of that act before line 501 is missing. O.10's desperately mutilated text also contains probably more than half of Act IV before it breaks off at line 806; several other papyri overlap with it and each other, providing often less damaged texts of a number of passages: B.3 532-544, 560-572; B.2 567-578, 611-622; O.3 642-665, 677-700.)

(ΜΕΡΟΣ Γ')

501	οποι ὁ]λίγον
(103)	α. . .ον νπ. . .μ.ι.
505	αλιν προσδ[ ρω.
(107)	ἐγέ]νετ' ἄρα ].[ . . .]ν ]α

501-1066 Those supplements and corrections whose author is not named were made by the ed. pr. of O.10, E. G. Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Supplement 17 (London 1965) and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 33 (London 1968), 15-155.

501-531 O.10. 505 προσδ[έχον or προσδ[όκα Turner.

<sup>a</sup> Olive branches were carried by suppliants, who would often seek sanctuary at an altar, and it is likely that such was the inten-

## MISOUMENOS

at this point Demeas went on to knock on Thrasonides' door. The only person who could have opened the door in Thrasonides' absence (see on 414–417 above) would have been Getas, but at 617 ff. (note especially 625) Getas and Demeas were apparently still total strangers to each other.)

### (ACT III)

(Act II ended and III began in the gap between 492 and the line provisionally numbered as 501. Only occasional words can be made out in the mutilated remains of 501–531: little 502, ? accept or expect 505, ? happened 507, ? sword 509, ? I have come 514, and some or whom? 517, who (feminine) you are 519, couldn't 520, to be 521, a suppliant's olive-branch<sup>a</sup> 522, 532, ? the stranger 525. These allow us neither to establish the subject matter nor to name the speakers, of whom at times (e.g. 532–541) there may be three, one certainly (cf. 519) female. It is possible that Getas entered early in Act III (did he utter 514?), intending to speak with Kleinias' old female slave, but retired into the background as an eavesdropper when he found her conversing with somebody else whose name appears to have contained the letters ry (see n. on 555), perhaps Krateia's nurse. The questioning 'who you are' in 519 may imply that at this point the two women did not

tion here, bringing the stage altar into play. In Athens such a branch could also be deposited by any citizen as a token that he wished a complaint to be heard in the assembly, but there is no evidence that the scene of *Misoumenos* is Athens or that this procedure was referred to here. See especially John Gould, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 93 (1973), 74–103, and P. J. Rhodes' commentary on [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 43. vi (Oxford 1981), pp. 527 f.



# MENANDER

Γ]ΡΑ[ΤΣ

ξί[φ

510

]χα[

]ρω[.....]π[

(112)

]..[....].ιμ[

]..μевна

(ΓΕΤΑΣ ?)

ἐλήλ]υθα  
]α·

515

π.....[

.ι[...]...[...].ι[...].ο[...].α[...].[

(117)

] καί τιν' α.α[...].[...]...[...].μ[

].ωσ.ο.ιμεν[...].ιων.οκ.[...].εμ[...].εμο[

σὺ δ' ἥτις εἶ πα. .[.....]χρον[

520

οὐκ ἂν δυναί[

]νον[

εἶναι με.[

(122)

ί]κετηρίαν [

..].ρ[...].λα[....]....[

]..[

...[...].τ[

]...[

525

το]ῦ ξέν[ου

].αν[.....].αν.[

]...εωμ[

(127)

]...[....].ρενθ[....]..[

]...[

ο. .[....]πεπαικ[

].[.....].ωνως:

509 Above ]ξί[ is written ]ρα[, presumably to identify a new speaker (γ]ρα[ῦς or even Σν]ρα perhaps rather than Κ]ρά[τεια or Θ]ρα[σωνίδης): see below on 555. 513 γεγε]νημένα Austin. 514 ἐλήλ]υθα suppl. Austin. 521 εἶναι deciph. Austin, Handley. 528 Or ]πεπαικ[. 529 Dicolon after ωνωσ deciphered by Austin.

know each other. If the word 'sword' is correctly read in 509, it might perhaps be linked with an incident in the play described by Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* 4. 1. 19, who claims when quoting fr. 4 of Misoumenos (see below, on that fragment) that at one point Thrasonides asked for a sword and was denied it by Getas. The character here who mentions the sword may be the old woman, if a mutilated interlinear identification of speaker here is correctly filled out as either Σύ]ρα, Syra or γ]ρα[ὺς, old woman<sup>a</sup>; in that case could she be referring to that incident or to a consequential request by Getas for permission to deposit in Kleinias' house all the weapons that Getas could find in Thrasonides' house, including Krateia's brother's sword, in order to forestall any attempt by Thrasonides to commit suicide? The reference to the stranger in 525 suggests that the two (? female) speakers had gone on to talk about the arrival of Demeas.

At 532 the accession of a second papyrus helps to provide a more comprehensible text for seven of the next ten lines. Even so, identification of speakers, division of parts and interpretation of the subject matter all remain hazardous, and the translation given below can be nothing more than a guess. Most probably three characters are on stage. It seems most likely that the main conversation continues between Krateia's nurse (was she the person carrying the olive-branch mentioned at 522, 532, 553, and perhaps also 642, and protesting as Krateia's proxy about either the latter's position in Thrasonides' household or the disappearance of Krateia's brother's sword which Getas had transferred next door along with all the other

<sup>a</sup> Unfortunately, this identification is not certain; the interlinear remains can be filled out also as Θ]ρα[σωνίδης (Thrasonides) or Κ]ρά[τεια (Krateia). See also 555 below.

MENANDER

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

φε[

530 τ[.].[. . . .].νπερι.[.].[. .].[  
α[. .]. . . .[. .]γησ[

ΓΡΑΤΣ (?)

(132) *ἰκετηρίαν; τί λέγουσ’;*

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

“ἐμοὶ μαχεῖ, τάλαν;”

“[μ]ὰ Δί’, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ[νω],” φ[ησ]ί, “δεινὸν γὰρ βίον  
ζῆ κ[α]ὶ ταλαίπωρόν τ[ι]ν’ —

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

οὐ γάρ;

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

*μακάριον*

535 *αὕτη δὲ καὶ ζηλωτὸν ὄντ’.*”

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

οὕτω [τ]ι[ς] ἦν

Γύ]γης.

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

[ᾶ]μεινον <δ’> οἶδε τά γ’ ἑαυτῇ[ς] τινός.

532–544 B.2, O.10. 532 Punctuation after *ἰκετηρίαν* uncertain. B.3 has a dicolon after *ταλαν*, apparently marking the end of a reported speech. 533 ἐκεῖ[νω] suppl. Webster. 534 *ουγαρ* (with dicola before and after) B.3; assigned to Getas as an aside by Arnott. 535–536 οὕτω—Γύ]γης assigned to Getas by Arnott (in B.3 no dicolon after ὄντ’, possibly one after ἦν; in O.10 possibly lower dot decipherable after ]γης). 535 δὲ deciphered by Austin. 536 Γύ]γης and <δ’> tentatively suppl.

# MISOUMENOS

*weapons belonging to the soldier?<sup>2</sup>) and Kleinias' old slave woman. In the background a third character seems to lurk, most probably Getas. He utters occasional asides that are eventually overheard by the women, one of whom orders him off at 541.)*

OLD WOMAN (?)

A branch? What did you say?

NURSE (?)

“Oh dear, will you  
Oppose *me*?” “Heavens, no! *Him*,” he says, “he’s living  
A dreadful and unhappy life —”

532

GETAS (?)

(*aside*)

That’s right!

NURSE (?)

“—While hers is flush and envied!”

GETAS (?)

(*aside*)

That’s just how he was —

535

A Gyges<sup>a</sup> (?)!

NURSE (?)

Still, she knows her business best<sup>b</sup>!

536

<sup>a</sup> A king of Lydia in the early seventh century B.C., who became a legend for wealth and success in his battles against enemies and rivals, and in the present context would be an appropriate object of comparison for a victorious mercenary like Thrasonides. <sup>b</sup> Literally ‘better than anyone’.

Arnott, [ᾶ]μεινον and τὰ γ’ ἐαυτῇ[ς] τινός suppl. and deciphered by Handley.

# MENANDER

- (137) τοῦτ' ἐ[.]κ[ ]εμον τον...αν.. τουτονι  
 ..].εμ' α[ ]ε. ειναι[.....].το καθήμενον.

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

τί] τοῦτο;

ΓΡΑΤΣ (?)

τοῦτο; τίς πότ' ἐστιν;

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

ἔστι γὰρ

- 540 παρά τινος ὁ ψιθυρισμός· οἶδ' ἐγώ.  
 ἀπαλλάγηθ' ἐν[θένδ']· ἐγὼ τ...γ. νημ[...].ναι:

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

- (142) ἐσθ' [.]δεμε. [.] παρ' ἐμοῦ[γε, τὸ τρο]φείον δ' ἔχεις,  
 ὦ θυ[γα]τρίδιον[ν, ο]ῦ δῆλα; ...[....]ν πᾶν λέγει  
 .....]σθ[ ]μα[.....]..[...].ντωμο[  
 545 .....].τακ.[  
 .[.]δε[ι]ξον [... δακ]τύλιον [

ΓΡΑΤΣ (?)

- (147) φιλων γε[.....]παρ[

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (?)

ὁ τοιοῦτο[ς ...].

539 Parts assigned by Arnott (the only dicolon visible is after *ἐστιν* in B.3). 541 ἐν[θένδ'] Kraus: γηθ'ε[ O.10 with a letter from an interlinear *nota personae* or less probably a badly-written rough breathing above it, ]ηθεν.... B.3.

542 .σθ[.]τεμε O.10 with αλ written above .σ and δ above τ. ἐμοῦ[γε τὸ τρο]φείον suppl. Arnott. 543 ὦ deciphered by Austin. 545-549 O.10. 546 δε[ι]ξον suppl. Austin.



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*(If my interpretation is correct, at the beginning of 532 Kleinias' old slave is asking Krateia's nurse to tell her about a recent conversation that the nurse has had with another character, most probably Getas, who now in asides proceeds to confirm the accuracy of the nurse's report; that conversation might have occurred as the nurse was preparing to leave Thrasonides' house on her mission of supplication, with Getas attempting to stop her (532 f.). It appears that the nurse did not yet know why Krateia had turned against Thrasonides. Lines 537-538 are badly mutilated, yielding only this and this man (?) here (537) and sitting (?) down (538); the last remark for some reason arouses Getas into a comment clearly audible to the two women.)*

GETAS (?)

What's that?

OLD WOMAN (?)

*(now noticing Getas' presence)*

That? Who is he?

NURSE (?)

*(approaching Getas)*

These whispers come

539

From a specific source, I know! Away

540

[From here] with you!

*(After the request at 541 that the character here identified as Getas should depart, the text once more becomes so mutilated for a dozen lines that only disconnected words and phrases can be made out. It is probable but not certain that Getas departed into either a stage house (Kleinias'?) but see below on 576 ff.) or one off-stage nearby, where he observed the events described at*

# MENANDER

ΓΡΑΤΣ (?)

- . [
- θαιμάτ[ι]α ..[.]δετα[
- 550 ἔπειτα προσ[.]τυν...[
- τὴν γῆν κροτοῦσαν· κα[.].[
- (152) σ]πείσονθ' ἐ[πι]τρέπω[.].[ι[....]εραν.ι[.].τ[
- ἔσ]τιν [το]ιαῦθ' [· ἰκε]τηρίων ...[....]...[
- ..]ωτι[.] μανθ[άν]ειν [τό]δ' οὐκέτι
- 555 ὁ] καὶ θεοὶ θέλ[οιεν].

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ (here named [.]ΡΥ[ in the papyrus)

ἀπίω[μεν], Σύρα.

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

- ἐγὼ [.....] ἄχθομαι δέ, νῆ τῇν ...[
- (157) ..]με[.].[.....].ν. .ον.τα. .ειπ[
- ]ιονφ[
- ]μελ[... ]έρχεται πά[λιν,

548 O.10 identifies the second speaker in this line with a supra-lineal ].Σ, more probably [ΓΡΑ]ΥΣ than [ΓΕΤ]ΑΣ. 549

θαιμάτ[ι]α suppl. several. 552 ἐ[πι]τρέπω suppl. Austin (or -τρέπων ?). 555 O.10's identification of speaker could be

[Τ]ΡΥ[ΦΗ, Φ]ΡΥ[ΓΙΑ or Χ]ΡΥ[ΣΙΣ. Σύρα tentatively deciphered by Arnott.<sup>1</sup> 556 ]γωμεν[ O.10 with μεν crossed out. 559 Suppl. Austin.

<sup>1</sup> After this was in proof, Dr Colin Austin informed me that the conjecture Σύρα here and the identification of the nurse's name as Chrysis are now confirmed by a fragmentary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus identified and edited by Dr N. Gonis, who will publish it in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 64. The papyrus is referred to in advance of publication by courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society, London.

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556–575. *After his departure the dialogue between the two women continues; we can decipher from the nurse's words you've been fed (?) by me, dear daughter, isn't that clear (?), . . . he (or she) says every (or everything) 542 f. and show . . . ring 546; Kleinias' slave responds with of friends or kissing (?) 547, the nurse then has such a (548), before Kleinias' old slave says the garments 549 and then 550, and refers to some woman (?) beating the ground 551 and to some man about to make a libation, I entrust 552. From 553 to 555 the remains are less disconnected but still mysterious.)*

OLD WOMAN (?)

It's something like that. Branches [ ] this no longer to be hidden [ ]  
And may the gods desire it!

553

NURSE

Let's depart, Syra.

555

(It is difficult to make head or tail of what is going on. The nurse presumably apostrophises Krateia as her surrogate daughter, and the talk of a finger ring (546) and of garments (549) may imply their use as recognition tokens. 551–553 is puzzling; the mention of ‘branches’ (553) must take us back to the ritual of supplication mentioned at 522 and 532, and may imply here a failed attempt to conceal it (554) from somebody’s (? Thrasonides’) notice. The two women participating in the scene presumably depart to their separate houses at 555; this line may help in establishing the name of Kleinias’ slave as Syra, if the last word in 555 is correctly so deciphered, and that of the nurse as containing the letters -ry- (Chrysis, Phrygia, Tryphe ?), since the papyrus so identifies the speaker of the final

- 560 κατέλειπον· ἦσ' ἄν[θ]ρω[πος ...].[...] παχ[ὺς  
τὴν ὄψιν· ὅς ἀνθρωπ[ος  
(162) τὰ γύναι' ἵν' ἔξωθ' ἐπιθεωρεῖ[ιν  
ἄρ' οὗτός ἐστι δοῦλος †καὶ λύω[  
ἦσεν ποτ' αὐτῶν θάτερος σα[φέ]στε[ρον,  
565 τὸν ἄνδρα . . . . . ὧ πολυτίμητ[οι θεοί,  
ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀ[γαθ]οῖς, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου,  
(167) πίνων δικαίως ἦσεν ἀνθρώπων [χορός.  
ἀγαθὸν ἄκουσμ' ἤκεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ τί  
ἐνθά]δ' ἔ[τι] κάμπτεῖς καὶ πάλιν στέλλει, διδοὺς  
570 τὰς συμβολὰς εἰ μή τι κακὸν ἡμᾶς ποεῖς;  
λῆρος· κελεύσω τοῦτον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πάλιν  
(172) τὸν δεσ[πό]την καλέσαντα; φανερώς ἐστι γὰρ  
μιαρός. β]αδιοῦμ' εἴσω δὲ καὶ πειράσομαι  
κρύπτω]ν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιθεωρήσαί τι τῶν  
575 ποιουμέ]νων ἔνδον λαλουμένων θ' ἅμα.

560–566 B.3, O.10; where only one of the two is cited, the other may be assumed to be lacunose. 560 ἦσ' (and supplements) Austin: ησ B.3. 561 ἀνθρωπ[ B.3. 562 Corr. Merkelbach: ἐξωθενἐπιθεωρε[ B.3. 563 So B.3, unmetrically after the hephemimeral caesura ([...].οσεστ[ O.10). 564 ἦσεν Turner: ησεν B.3. ποτ' B.3 after correction, ποτε O.10: ποθ B.3 originally. θατερος B.3 after correction, ]τερος O.10: θατερον B.3 originally. 565 Text uncertain: ? ].ισγαρω O.10, ? κα. . or μι. . before ὀρᾶνῶ B.3. 566 Variant readings in B.3 and O.10, supplemented by Handley with πᾶσιν ἀγαθoῖς] and πᾶσιν ὄν]τως respectively. 567–572 B.2, B.3, O.10; see above on 560–566. 567 δικαίως B.3: ]οισ O.10. Suppl. Arnott. 569 Suppl. Sisti (ἔτι also Sandbach). 570 ποεῖς B.2: ποιεῖς O.10. 571 κελεύσω B.3, ]λευσω B.2 after



# MISOUMENOS

words of 555.)

(*Getas now re-enters from the unidentified house and delivers a vivid but puzzling monologue about the events he has witnessed. Its opening four lines are too mangled for continuous translation, but I'm vexed seems to be Getas' opening remark at line 556.*)

## GETAS

(*in mid-speech*)

	] comes [back] —	559
I left them (?) there. A fat-faced man sang [		560
The fellow [was] a pig [		
The women, to watch them from outside [		
Is he a slave? [		
One of the pair sang more distinctly (?). Him		
	] O most honoured [gods]! There in	565
The lap of luxury—that's the accepted		
Phrase—[a chorus] of men did rightly drink and sing!		
Your coming to us is good news, but why		
Turn round again and come back here and pay		
Your shot, <sup>a</sup> unless you're doing us some injury?		570
That's nonsense! He invited master—shall I urge		
Him to come back to dinner? Clearly he's		
[A scoundrel]. I'll go in, [conceal] myself,		
And try to keep an eye on anything		
That's being [done] and said too in the house.		575

<sup>a</sup> Dinners and drinking parties in which each guest paid his own share of the costs were a common feature in the social life of wealthier bachelors in Menander's Athens; see my commentary on Alexis (Cambridge 1996/1997), introduction to fr. 15.

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correction: ]λενω B.2 before correction. 573–577 B.2, O.10:  
 see above on 560–567. 573 *μιαρός* suppl. Arnott.  
 574–575 Suppl. Wilamowitz.





# MISOUMENOS

(The relevance to the plot of the events described here is now uncertain. Who is the 'fat-faced' man that has invited Thrasonides to dine and drink in his house? It is unlikely to be either Demeas or Kleinias. The former is hardly yet in a position to act as host, and the description of the fat-faced man here hardly matches that of Demeas at 620 f.; in Kleinias' dining-room, on the other hand, no party is mentioned as going on while Demeas was examining a collection of swords there (578 ff.). We are obliged to assume that the host is a character in the play so far unidentified, perhaps for instance a brothel-keeper, with a house on or more probably just off-stage; in that case Getas' vituperations and ideas about keeping an eye on things would be more readily comprehensible. At the end of his monologue Getas exits again, presumably to the scene of the party (cf. the comments above on 409 ff.). After his departure Kleinias' female slave enters from her master's house, to report on a strange incident. The opening part of her speech is slightly damaged but in places easily supplemented.)

## OLD WOMAN

I swear I've [never] seen a more [eccentric] guest 576  
 Than this one! Oh, poor chap, what can he want?  
 [He's \_\_\_\_\_] in the dining-room  
 His neighbours' swords, [he pulls] them out 579

(It seems clear that Demeas has—or is about to—come across his son's sword among those transferred by Getas from Thrasonides' to Kleinias' house. After 579 we have only disjointed words and phrases from a scene in which the old woman is soon joined (at 582 or 583) by Demeas, who follows her out of Kleinias' house. The last three or

# MENANDER

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

ἄν [γὰ]ρ [ε]ῦ

] τὴν θύραν κόψασά μοι.

ΓΡΑΥΣ

αὐτὸ]ς μ[ἐν οὖν σὺ] κόπτε· [τί] μ' ἐνοχλεῖς, τάλαν;

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

590 ]..[.]...[.]

ΓΡΑΥΣ

λά]β'. ἀποτρέχω· δέδειχά σοι.

]...[ ἐ]κκάλει κα[ὶ δι]αλέγου

(192) ]...[ ]..[.]α.α.[.]

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

ὦν [τυγ]χάνω

]..[ ]ενα[.]υ τὴν ἐμὴν ταύτην ὀρω.

ΓΡΑΥΣ

(194a) κ]όψει τ[ὴν θύραν· [κό]ψ[α]ς δ' ἔτι

5(194b) ].[.....]σα.ην ἔγωγέ φη[μι .]...ονθ' ὅλως

(195) ..σ[.]τοπασαν[.]..[.....]ς· καλοῦ

587 Above *αν* is written *δη(μεας)* to identify the speaker. [γὰ]ρ [ε]ῦ suppl. Kassel. 590 λά]β'. ἀποτρέχω suppl. and deciphered by Sandbach. *δεδιχα* O.10. 591 [ἐ]κκάλει suppl. and deciphered by Handley. 592 Above the *ω* of *ων* a diagonal stroke (identifying the speaker as *δ[η](μεας)*?). ]*θανω* O.10 corrected to ]*χανω*: suppl. Austin. 593 *αρω*. in O.10 corrected to *ορω*: apparently. 594 originally omitted in O.10 and added by a second hand. ]*σδετι* or ]*σαετι* O.10. 595 *φη[μι]* suppl. Austin.

# MISOUMENOS

four lines of the old woman's entrance monologue yield only a long time (580), to point them (the swords?) out (581). *Demeas bids the old woman Show them (? again the swords, 584), to which she responds I'll put (584). In 585f. Demeas may say Thank you or No, thank you. / . . . Don't despise (?) [me]. The woman's reply contains the word I (586).*

*The text remains badly fractured until 607, but between 588 and 595 it is possible to decipher enough meaningful phrases for the drift of the conversation between Demeas and Kleinias' female slave to be partially discerned.)*

DEMEAS

. . . you] knocking at the door for me. 588

OLD WOMAN

[No,] knock [yourself]! Why bother me? Oh dear!

DEMEAS

[. ]

OLD WOMAN

Take ] I'm running off, I've shown to you 590  
] You call them out and talk to them.

DEMEAS

] Just now I'm (?)  
] I see this [ ] of mine

OLD WOMAN

he']ll knock on the door. After knocking [he'll]  
Still [ ] I say [ ] at all (?) 595

*(Clearly Demeas, in pursuit either of his daughter or of an explanation about how Thrasonides came to possess Demeas' son's sword ('this . . . of mine' in 593 could refer*

# MENANDER

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ (?)

.ρν[...].ομ[ ]ησάμην  
 ...].[ ]ποτε  
 .....]σ[ ]

## ΓΡΑΥΣ (?)

600 .θει[.....]νπρο.[  
 ]ερ[...].π[...].σω  
 ]τισε  
 (201) ].[ ἔλεν]θέρα:  
 ]τ[ ]ωθ.[  
 .ν[ ].[.].[ ]θετο  
 605 ἐνθύμιόν μοι τοῦτο γέγονεν ἀρτίως  
 .[.].[...].εθ[.].τοσωστ[ ].[ ]ου.ε.[  
 (206) π]ροσ[...]....

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

παῖ, παῖδε[ς]· ἐ[π]ανάξω· ψ[οφεῖ  
 αὐτῶν προΐων τις εἰς τὸ πρ[όσθ]ε[ν τὴν θύραν.

### 605 Lexicon Symeonis

597 O.10 may have a paragraphus under the line. 599 Possibly *nota personae* in O.10 over *θει*. 605 ]τουτογεγον[ O.10 suppl. by Bühler from quotation of the whole line in the *Lexicon Symeonis* s.v. ἐνθύμημα· οὐχ οὕτω (sc. προστρόπαιον) Μένανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαλογισμοῦ τινος καὶ ἐνθυμήματος· καὶ ἐν Μισουμένῳ· ἐνθύμιόν μοι (μ corrected from σ) τοιοῦτον (sic) γέγονεν ἀρτίως. 607–608 Suppl. Sandbach (but Menander also uses the orthography πρ[όσθ]ε).

<sup>a</sup> On the staging of this entry by the nurse (here played by a mute, because of the convention in Menander's plays that a maximum of three speaking characters could be on stage at any one



to either), wants Kleinias' old slave to knock on Thrasonides' door for him, but she refuses, insisting that Demeas should do his own knocking and questioning. What she claims to have shown Demeas (590) remains uncertain.

From 596–607 the text is far too tattered generally to reveal more than an occasional word (fine 596, ever 598), apart from one whole line which was quoted from the play by a Byzantine lexicographer and fits the scanty traces of line 605 in the papyrus.)

This has just started to weigh on my mind.

605

(It must have been spoken by Demeas, and most probably refers to the worrying implications of his son's sword being now in Thrasonides' possession.

At or slightly before 607 Kleinias' old slave must have carried out her threat and made her exit into Kleinias' house, leaving Demeas alone to knock on Thrasonides' door. Just as he begins to knock, however, he hears somebody inside the house approaching the door and causing it to creak and rattle as it is unlocked or unbolted. This causes Demeas to panic and step aside. The door is opened by Krateia. She enters, absorbed in conversation with her nurse,<sup>a</sup> who may come out before Krateia and so perhaps block Krateia's view of her father. The text here for a few lines is much better preserved.)

DEMEAS

. (banging on Thrasonides' door)

Servant, servants! I'll step back. One of  
Them's coming forward, he's [unlocked the door.

607

time) and Krateia, see especially the Gomme–Sandbach *Commentary* on line 208 (their numbering) and K. B. Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (Oxford 1988), 83 f.

# MENANDER

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

610 οὐκ ἂν [δυ]ναίμην κ[α]ρτερ[εῖ]ν [  
τ[ό]τ' ἐ[... ]νον. τί ταῦτ.[

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

(211) ὦ Ζεῦ, τίν' ὄψιν οὐδὲ προσδ[οκωμένην  
ὀρώ;

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

τί βούλει, τηθία; τί μοι λαλεῖς;  
πατήρ ἐμός; ποῦ;

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

παιδίον, Κράτεια.

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

[τίς  
καλεῖ με; πάππα, χαῖρε πολλά, φίλτατ[ε].

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

615 ἔ]χω σε, τέκνον.

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

ὦ ποθούμενος φαν[είς,  
ὀρώ σ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ὥομην ἰδεῖν ἔτι.

609 In left margin of O.10 γν(νη) κρατεια identifies the speaker. κ[α]ρτε[ρε]ῖν suppl. Handley. 611–622 B.2, O.10. 611 Left margin of O.10 has δη-, of B.2 ]ασ, identifying the speaker. προσδ[οκωμένην suppl. Wilamowitz. 612 τηθια B.2: τηθεια O.10. 613 Suppl. Jensen. 614 B.2 wrongly inserts dicolon after καλειμε and in the left margin wrongly identifies the speaker here as .ε (= γε(τασ ?). πάππα Wilamowitz: παπ[ O.10, παπα B.2, but see D. M. MacDowell, comm. on Ar. Wasps 297 (Oxford 1971). φίλτατ[ε suppl. Wilamowitz. 615 Paragraphus under the line in B.2, not in O.10. φαν[είς suppl. Wilamowitz.

# MISOUMENOS

KRATEIA

*(to her nurse)*

I couldn't endure [

] why these [

610

DEMEAS

*(recognising Krateia)*

O Zeus, what vision so [surprising] do

I see?

KRATEIA

*(still to her nurse)*

What do you mean, nurse? What do you say?

My father? Where?

DEMEAS

*(approaching Krateia)*

Krateia, child!

KRATEIA

*(turning from her nurse to Demeas)*

[Who]'s calling

Me? Daddy, dearest, O god bless you!

DEMEAS

*(embracing her)*

Child,

You're in my arms.

KRATEIA

You'[ve] come, I missed you, let

615

Me look at you, I didn't think I'd ever

See you again!

*(Getas now enters from the scene of Thrasonides' party (see above on 409 ff.), and is taken aback by the scene which meets his eyes.)*

# MENANDER

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

- (216) ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω. παῖ, τί τοῦθ'; αὕτη τί σ[οί,  
 ἄνθρωπε; τί ποεῖς οὗτος; οὐκ ἐγὼ 'λε[γον;  
 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τόνδε τὸν ζητούμε[νον  
 620 ἔχω. γέρων οὗτός γε πολὺς φαίνε[ται,  
 ἐτῶν τις ἐξήκονθ', ὅμως δὲ κλαύ[σεται.  
 (221) τίνα περιβάλλειν καὶ φιλεῖν οὗτος [δοκεῖς];

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

ο]ὕμὸς πατήρ, Γέτα, π[ά]ρ[εστιν.]

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

[τίς λόγος

- οὕτω γελοῖος; οὐ. . . . [  
 625 τίς εἶ· πόθεν θ' [ἦκεις;

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- αὐτος πορε[υθεῖς  
 (226) ταύτης.

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἀληθῶς γ[άρ, Κράτεια, σοι πατήρ  
 ὅδ' ἐστὶν ὁ γέρων;

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

λάμ[βαν' αὐτὴν μάρτυρα.

617 Left margin on O.10 has γετας, of B.2 γε<sup>τ</sup>(ας), identifying the speaker. Suppl. Handley. 618–622 Suppl. Wilamowitz. 619 αὐτοφώρῳ B.2: αὐ[.]φώρῳ O.10. 622 No paragraphus under the line in B.2 (line-opening lacunose in O.10). περι-βαλλειν O.10 after correction: περιβαλειν O.10 originally. B.2. 623 to 641 or 642 O.10 alone. 623 κρ[ O.10 in left margin. Supplements (τίς λόγος *exempli gratia*) by Sand-

# MISOUMENOS

GETAS

She's come outside! Oh, heavens! What's this?  
 What's she [to you], sir—you there, what's your game?  
 [Did]n't [I] say so? I've caught the object of  
 My search red-handed! Looks grey-haired and old, 620  
 He must be sixty—yet he'll pay for this!  
 You—who [do you think] you're kissing and embrac-  
 ing?

KRATEIA

Getas, my father['s here].

GETAS

[What story could]  
 [Be] so absurd? Not (?) [  
 (*He turns to question Demeas.*)  
 Who are you? Where've you come from? 625

DEMEAS

Travelling alone (?) [  
 This girl.

GETAS

[Krateia,] can this old man be  
 Truly [your father]?

KRATEIA

(*pointing to her nurse*)  
 Use [her as a witness.] (?)

---

bach. 625 Suppl. Kumaniecki. 626 δη O.10 in left margin.  
 πορε[υθεις suppl. Mette, πορε[ύομαι Kumaniecki.  
 627 Suppl. tentatively Sandbach. 628 Suppl. *exempli gratia*  
 Arnott.



# MENANDER

ΓΕΤΑΣ

630 τί τοῦτο; καὶ σύ, γράδ[ι]ο[ν,  
καλείς; πόθεν, βέλτιστε, [...].[.]ολ[  
οἴκοθεν;

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

ἐ[βο]υλόμην ἄν.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

(231) ἀπόδημος ὦν ἐκείθεν;  
ἀλλ' [ἐτ]ύγχαν[ες

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

635 ἐκ Κύπρον παρῶ[ν  
ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον τῶν ἐμῶν ταύτην ὀρ[ῶ].  
καὶ δῆλον ὥς ἔσπαρκε τῶν οἴκοι τινὰς  
ὁ κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς πόλεμος ἄλλον ἀλλαχῇ.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

(236) ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως· αἰχμάλωτος γενομένη  
αὕτη πρ[ὸ]ς ἡμᾶς ἦλθε τοῦτον τ[ὸ]ν τ[ρ]όπον.  
δ]ραμῶν δέ σοι τὸν δεσπότην ἦδη καλῶ.  
[.....]......[.].[.].[.]α.

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

οὕτω ποίει.

(Holes and abrasion in the following six lines of O.10 make it impossible to identify speech divisions and speakers (whether Demeas or Krataiea). O.3 here supplies a few extra letters, but they do not match anything preserved in O.10.)

631 δη above ε[ and γε above αλλ[ O.10 indicating speakers. ἀλλ' deciphered by Handley, ἐτ]ύγχαν[ες suppl. Kassel.

# MISOUMENOS

GETAS

What's that? Old woman, do you really call  
[Him master]?

*(The nurse mutely nods her assent. Getas then addresses Demeas again.)*

Sir, where [have you come] from now? 630

From home?

DEMEAS

I wish I could have!

GETAS

But were you

In fact away from home?

DEMEAS

I'm here from Cyprus. She's

The first part of my family I've seen.

War is man's common enemy. It's scattered

Asunder members of my household, that's

Apparent. 635

GETAS

It's the way things go. She came

To us like that, a prisoner of war.

I'll run and call my master now to you.

[ ]

DEMEAS

Do that. 639

---

632 δη above εκ O.10. 636 γε O.10 in left margin.

636, 639 γενομένη and οὕτω πότε deciphered by Handley.

638 Suppl. Handley.

## MENANDER

## O.10

640 ...]. .[...]. [..]. [..].  $\pi\omicron\omicron$ . . .  $\nu\mu$ [...]. . .  
. [ 10 letters ] . .  $\iota\tau\kappa\alpha$ . [.....].  $\omega\nu$ . [  
(241) ....  $\dot{\iota}$ ]  $\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta[\rho]\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  . . . [..]  $\phi\omicron$ . [...].  $\alpha\rho\eta$ . [  
. [ 10 letters ] . .  $\iota$  [ 7 ]  $\iota\tau$ . [..].  $\alpha\iota$ . [  
 $\epsilon$  [ 13 ? letters ] . . [   
645 12 letters ]  $\phi$ . . .  $\nu\omicron\nu$ [...]. [...]. . [   
.. ]  $\epsilon\iota$ [...]. [...].  $\mu\epsilon\nu : \omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda[\omicron]\nu$ . . [

## 0.3

642 or 643	]. . [
	] πα [
643 or 244)	] . πάτρ [
645 or 646	] κέτι [
646 or 647	] μο. . κλ. [

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

647 ὁ δ' οὐκέτ' [ἐ]στι; τίς λέγει σοι τὸν λόγο[ν;

KPATEIA

εὖ οἶδ'.]

642–647 Scraps preserved in O.3 here may come from near the beginning of either 642–646 or 643–647. 642  $\dot{\iota}[\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta[\rho]\dot{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$  (O.10) deciphered and tentatively supplied by Turner. 644 or 645  $\dot{\iota}\theta\upsilon\nu\gamma\alpha\tau\rho[\dot{\iota}]$  (O.3) is also possible. 646  $\tau\eta\lambda[o]\nu\rho\acute{o}[\varsigma$  or  $\tau\eta\lambda[o]\hat{\nu}.$  (O.10) Handley. 646 Either  $\mu\epsilon\nu:$  or  $\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  with the  $\sigma$  badly abraded (O.10). 647  $\acute{o}[\dot{\iota}]$  suppl. Austin and Mette, the rest Turner. 648 (O.10)  $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\ \omicron\dot{\iota}\delta'$  suppl. Sandbach, assigned to Krateia by Sisti.

## MISOUMENOS

*(Getas now dashes off to fetch Thrasonides. The papyri containing the text from 639 to 646 are so mutilated that only a few words of the conversation between Krateia and Demeas in these lines can be made out: olive-branch possibly in 642 (if rightly deciphered, presumably a reference to the situation described in 522, 532 and 553), father or daughter perhaps in 644 or 645, [no] longer in 645 or 646, and faraway 646. When a coherent but still damaged text resurfaces at 647, the talk is focused on Krateia's brother, now believed dead. The distribution and assignment of parts in the following verses cannot always be inferred with confidence from what is preserved and decipherable in the papyri, and scholars have differed radically about these matters (cf. the Gomme and Sandbach Commentary, Oxford 1973, 452f.). The arrangement presented here, which concurs with all but one (see the critical apparatus in 650) of the assignments and divisions identifiable in the papyri, assumes that at the beginning of this scene only Krateia had been induced by Thrasonides' possession of her brother's sword to believe her lover's boasts that he had slain its owner, while Demeas had not been led into any suspicion of his son's death by sight of that sword in Kleinias' house. At 647 Demeas has just been told by Krateia that his son is dead.)*

DEMEAS

And [he]'s alive no more? Who's told you this?

647

KRATEIA

[I know for sure.]

MENANDER

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

ἀπ[ό]λωλ'.

ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

οἷμοι τάλαινα τῆς ἐμ[ῆς]  
ἐγὼ τύ]χης. ὥς οἰκτρά, πάππα φίλτατε,  
650 π]επόνθαμεν.

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

τέθ[υ]ηχ' ;

ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

ὕφ' οὐ γ' ἤκιστ' ἐχ[ρῆν].

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

οἶσ]θας σὺ τοῦτον;

ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

οἶδα καὶ συν[

(251) ἀλοῦσα . . . .[.]ουσα του[.]λι[.] . .[

648 ἀπ[ό]λωλ' and ἐμ[ῆς] suppl. Turner: απ[.]λωλα O.10 followed by dicolon (this line not preserved in O.3).

649–665 O.3, O.10. 649 ἐγὼ suppl. Webster, τύ]χης Hunt. ὥς deciphered by Handley. πάππα Turner: παπα O.10 (torn off in O.3), but see apparatus on 614. 650 π]επόνθαμεν suppl. Hunt, τέθ[υ]ηκ' and ἐχ[ρῆν Handley. Dicola after both ]επον-θαμεν O.3 (omitted by O.10) and τεθ[υ]ηκε O.10 (also O.3). υφουτηκιστ'ε[ (with δη as indication of speaker written above υφ) O.10, ὕφου[ O.3: ὕφ' οὐ deciphered by Turner, τ corrected to γ' by Austin; ὕφ' οὐ γ' ἤκιστ' ἐχ[ρῆν attributed against the papyrus to Krateia by Merkelbach, Mette. 651 ]θασὺ τοῦτον O.3 (torn off in O.10): suppl. and corr. Turner. 652 αλουσα-μιλλα[ O.3 (so Turner and Webster), but ἀλοῦσ' ἄμιλλά (or



# MISOUMENOS

DEMEAS

That's finished me!

KRATEIA

Oh, [I]'m

Crushed by my fate! How grievous, dearest father,  
Are our afflictions!

DEMEAS

He's been killed?

KRATEIA

By one he least

650

Deserved to be<sup>a</sup>!

DEMEAS

You know the man?

KRATEIA

I do, and [

Taken prisoner [

*(From 651 to 658 only the opening words of each line are preserved, but they reveal that the conversation between Krateia and Demeas moves from the death of Krateia's brother to the subject of what Krateia and Demeas should do now.)*

<sup>a</sup> At this point she avoids naming Thrasonides.

---

-ίλλα) [τ'] οὔσα does not provide acceptable sense. 652,  
653 Paragraphi under the line in O.3.

# MENANDER

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

διὰ τί, Κράτεια, φ[.]ρ[

ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

ὁ τοῦτο πράξας ε.[

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

[

ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

655 ἀλλά, πάτερ, ε[ἰσώμεν

ἅπαντ' α[.....]υκ[...].[...].[.....].

(256) βουλευτέον νῦν ἐστ[ιν]· ἀλλ' ἦ κᾶ[μ]ε δ[εῖ  
ζῆν, .. πρέπει μετο.[.]ν[.]...[ ]].[

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ταλαιπ[ώρ]ου [βίου].

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

660 πατήρ Κρατείας, φῆς, ἐλήλ[υ]θ' ἀρ[τίως;

νῦν ἢ μακάριον ἢ τρισαθλιώτατον

(261) δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα.

εἰ μὴ γὰρ οὗτος δοκιμάσει με, κυρίως

654 Paragraphus under the line in O.3, O.10. 655 ε[ἰσώμεν  
suppl. Webster. 657 ἦ κᾶ[μ]ε suppl. and interpreted by  
Sandbach, δ[εῖ suppl. Arnott (Sandbach ἔδ[εῖ). 658 Para-  
graphus under the line in O.3, traces of note in left margin of  
O.10. In O.3 Hunt reads ζηνεῦπρε[, Turner ζην..πρε[:  
just [.]ζ[ O.10. 659 θρ in left margin O.3, misplaced a line  
too early; traces of note in left margin and paragraphus under  
the line in O.10. βίου suppl. Handley. 660 φῆς Turner:  
φησ O.10, word omitted by O.3. ἀρ[τίως suppl. Austin, Mette.  
661 τρισαθλιώτατον deciphered by Jacques.

# MISOUMENOS

DEMEAS

Krateia, why [

KRATEIA

The man who did this<sup>a</sup> [            ]

DEMEAS

[

KRATEIA

But, father, [let's go in

All [

We must consider now, but how in fact [I must]

Now live, that's what [we] ought [

DEMEAS

That's [life]—rich in surprises, rich in woe!

*(Demeas, Krateia and her nurse now leave the stage, presumably back into Kleinias' house. Directly after their departure Getas enters, bringing Thrasonides with him, as he promised; they are imagined to be in mid-conversation, although only Thrasonides is heard to speak during the brief time that they are now on stage.<sup>b</sup>)*

THRASONIDES

You say Krateia's father's [just] arrived?

You'll either make me happy now, or quite

The most heartbroken of all living creatures.

Suppose he doesn't approve of me, or give

<sup>a</sup> Presumably a reference to Thrasonides as the man believed to have killed Krateia's brother.

<sup>b</sup> Since only three actors with speaking roles were available to the playwright, Getas' part in this scene has to be taken by a mute.

- 665 δώσει τε ταύτην, οἷχεται Θρασωνίδης·  
 ὁ μὴ γένοιτ'. ἀλλ' εἰσίσωμεν· [οὐ]κέτι  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰκάζειν γάρ, εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ  
 (266) ἡμᾶς. ὀκνηρῶς καὶ τρέμων εἰσ[έρ]χομ[αι].  
 μαντεύεθ' ἡ ψυχὴ τί μου, Γέτα, κακόν·  
 δέδοικα. βέλτιον δ' ἀπαξάπ[αν γε τ]ῆς  
 670 οἰήσεώς πως· ταῦτα θανμάσαιμι δ' ἄν.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

- (271) ξένος ἐστὶν εἷς, μάγειρε, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τρίτη  
 ἐμὴ τις, εἶπερ νῆ Δί' εἰσελήλυθεν·  
 ἀγωνιῶ γὰρ καὶ τὸς. εἰ δὲ μή, μόνος  
 ὁ ξένος· ἐγὼ γὰρ περιδραμοῦμαι τὴν π[όλιν],  
 675 ζητῶν ἐκείνην, πᾶσαν. ἀλλὰ ἰπάραγε [σὺ  
 καὶ τοῦ ταχέως, μάγειρε, φρόντισ[ο]ν πάνν.

665 Suppl. Webster.

666–676 O.10.

667 οκνηριως O.10.

669 Suppl. Arnott (ἀπαξάπ[αν also Lloyd-Jones).

670 Paragraphus under the line, dicolon after οἰησεως, and γετ written over πωσ in O.10; but this would mean a speaking part for a fourth actor, and Sandbach rightly makes Thrasonides continue speaking. At the end of the line εἰσιον[τ]ι appears to have been added in O.10.

673 δὲ Handley: γε O.10.

676 πάνν deciphered by Rea.

## MISOUMENOS

Her formally in marriage. Then Thrasonides  
Is done for—God forbid! Well, let's go in. 665  
There's [no] more room for speculation on  
Such topics—we must *know*. I go in trembling  
And nervous. Getas, my whole being senses  
Failure. I'm scared. But anything is better  
Than vaguish notions. Life's amazing, though! 670

*(Thrasonides and Getas go off into Thrasonides' house. Immediately afterwards Kleinias enters by the side-entrance on the right, bringing with him a cook whom he has hired in town to prepare a meal for him and two guests, one male and the other a female whom Kleinias calls 'a girl of mine' (672); the former must be Demeas, the latter presumably an unidentified friend of Kleinias. We must assume that the invitations were given in a lost scene earlier in the play, which doubtless identified the girl as part of a now unknown sub-plot. One possibility is that she was a hetaira owned by the fat-faced man of 560, if he was a brothel-keeper (see on 576 ff.), and that Kleinias was in love with her.)*

### KLEINIAS

There's just one guest, cook, then there's me, and third  
A girl of mine, if she has come indeed.  
I too, you see, am in a torment! If she hasn't,  
The guest must dine alone, for I'll be dashing  
All round the town in search of her. But, cook, 675  
In you go, and make speed your prime concern!

*(Exit Kleinias into his house. When the stage is empty, the chorus give their third entr'acte performance.)*



ΧΟΡΟΥ

ΜΕΡΟΣ Δ΄

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

- (276) τί φής; ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν σπάθην τὴν κειμέν[ην  
 ἔνδον παρ' ἡμῖν ὥχεθ' ὥς τοὺς γείτονας,  
 680 τούτων ἀκούσας οὔσαν αὐτ[ήν]; πηνίκα  
 ἔθεντο δ' οὔτοι δεῦρο τα[ύτ]ην ἢ τίνος  
 ἔνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, γραῦ; [.].[.]ειστων. . . [  
 (281) μόνης τι λήψεων .[  
 εὔδηλος εἶ. ψοφεῖν [δὲ προ]ϊὼν φαίν[ε]ται  
 αὐτῶν τις· ὥστε πάντ' ἀκούσομαι σαφῶ[ς].

ΓΕΤΑΣ

- 685 ὦ Ζεὺ πολυτίμητ', ὠμότητος ἐκτόπου  
 ἀμφοῖν ἀπανθρώπου τε, νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

- (286) ξένος τις εἰσελήλυθ' ἀρτίως, Γέτα,  
 ἔνθαδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

- Ἡράκλεις, αὐθαδίας  
 .[  
 ἀν]θ[ρ]ώπου λαβεῖν

677-680 O.3, O.10. 681-682 O.10. 681 εἰστων deciphered by Coles. 682 O.10 has μονωνεπειλη.ο.[ with all except the first three letters deleted and ηστιλημψεων.[ written as a correction above the line (corrected further to λήψεων by Sandbach). 683-700 O.3, O.10. 683 ]οσιων O.3, ]ιων O.10. 685 Speaker identified as γε<sup>τ</sup> in left margin of O.10. πολυτειμητ' O.10. 686 τε deciphered by Handley. 687 εἰσεληλυθεν O.10 (this part of the verse torn off in O.3). 689 Suppl. Hunt.

## MISOUMENOS

### ACT IV

*(After the chorus' performance, Kleinias re-enters from his house in conversation with his old female slave, who comes out with him.)*

KLEINIAS

What's that you say? He recognised the sword  
Lying in our house? And rushed next door when he  
Learned it belonged to them? When did they bring  
It here to us, old woman? And what was  
Their reason? Clearly you [  
Alone [     ] of captures (?) [<sup>a</sup>  
But one of them is coming [out], it seems—there's  
The creaking<sup>b</sup>! So I'll hear the full tale clearly.

680

*(Thrasonides' door opens, and out comes Getas. He is so absorbed by his description of Thrasonides' meeting with Demeas and Krateia that he does not notice Kleinias. As Getas speaks, he paces up and down the stage.)*

GETAS

O honoured Zeus, what inhumanity  
Both showed, I swear—abnormal and cold-blooded!

685

KLEINIAS

O Getas, has a stranger called on you  
Here recently?

GETAS

*(Still not hearing Kleinias)*

My god! What mulishness!  
[Surely] a man's [the right to ask] to take

<sup>a</sup> The gaps in the text here defy coherent supplementation.

<sup>b</sup> The noise of a door being opened from the inside. The pivots and hinges of ancient doors creaked loudly.

## MENANDER

690      γυναικ[                          ]

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

πῶς του]τὶ λάβω;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

$\phi.$  [

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

] Δημεας

(291)  $\cdot [ \quad ] \cdot [ \cdot \cdot ]$

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἐκεῖ]νος οὐδὲ γρῦ

“ [σα [κ]αὶ γ[ά]ρ, Δημέα,

φιλω Κράτεια] ν αὐτός, [ὡς] ὁράς, ἐγώ.

695 σὺ δ' εἶ πατ[ὴρ <καὶ> κύριος." ταυτὶ λέγει

ἀ[παν]τα κλάων, ἀντιβολῶν· ὄνος λύρας.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

(296) σ]υμπεριπατήσω καὐτός, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκῶ.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἐν τούτῳ δ' εἶρει· "τὴν ἐμμαντοῦ σ' ἀξιῶ

690  $\pi\hat{\omega}\varsigma$  suppl. Arnott, του]τὶ Jensen: ]τὶλαβῶ O.3, ]ιλαλω O.10. 690, 691 Speaker twice identified as κλει<sup>ν</sup> in right margin of O.3. 691 Dicolon before δημεας in O.3.

692 ἐκεῖ]νος suppl. Arnott, this part of the line assigned to Getas  
by Sandbach. οὐδεγρῶ O.3: μ[.]δεγρῶ O.10. 693 κ]αὶ suppl.  
Handley, γ[ὰ]ρ Hunt. 694 [φιλω Κράτεια]ν and [ὥς]  
suppl. Sandbach. ]ρας O.10, ]εῤῥας O.3. 695 [σὺν δ' εἶ] suppl.  
*exempli gratia* Sandbach. ]ηγκυριοσταντι O.10, ]τησ·ρ[.]·[.]·  
-ταντι apparently O.3. 696 ἄ[παν]τα suppl. Sudhaus.

Dicolon at end of line in O.3, omitted by O.10. 697 Suppl.

# MISOUMENOS

A wife? [They snubbed him!]

KLEINIAS

(*aside*)

[How] am I to take

690

This?

GETAS

[ ]

KLEINIAS

Demeas

[ ]

GETAS

(*still pacing up and down*)

[He] answered not a word!

] <sup>a</sup> “Really, Demeas, I [love]

[Krateia], as you see, myself. [You are]

Her father [and] her guardian.” All this he said

695

Pleading, in tears! But a donkey’s deaf to music<sup>b</sup>!

KLEINIAS

I think I’ll walk about with him myself.

(*He now walks alongside Getas, trying to attract his attention, but Getas either ignores or does not see him.*)

GETAS

He’s harping on this one theme: “I’m here claiming

<sup>a</sup> The gaps in the text hereabouts defy supplementation.

<sup>b</sup> A Greek proverb: literally, ‘a donkey (listening) to a lyre’, implying a total absence of response.

---

Wilamowitz (from O.3’s περιπατησω). δοκω O.10: δοκεῖ O.3 (equally possible). 698 ειρει O.10: εἴριμε O.3.

700 ἤκων ἀπολυτροῦν ὦν πατήρ.” “ἐγὼ δέ γε  
αἰτῶ γυναικὰ σ’ ἐντετυχηκώς, Δημέα.”

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

(301) ἐνδ[ο]ν μὲν ἐσθ’ ἄνθρωπος εἰσεληλυθώς·  
τοῦν[ομ]α λέγει γὰρ οὔτοσὶ τὸν Δημέαν.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

705 ὦ [Ἡρ]άκλεις, ἀνθρωπίνως ἂν οὐ λάβοι  
τὸ συμβεβηκός; ὧς ὅρει, τὸ τοῦ λόγου.  
ἀλλ’ οὐχι τοῦτο δεινόν, ἀλλ’ αὕτη πάλιν  
(306) ἀφ[ο]ρᾶ λέγοντος· “ἀντιβολῶ, Κράτειά, σε,  
μὴ μ’ ἐ[γκ]αταλίπης. παρθένον σ’ εἵ[λ]ηφ’ ἐγ[ώ],  
ἀνὴρ ἐκλήθην πρῶτος, ἡγάπησά σε,  
ἀγ]απῶ, φιλῶ, Κράτεια φιλτάτη· τί σοι  
710 λυπηρόν ἐστι τῶν παρ’ ἐμοί; τεθνηκότα  
πεύσει μ’, ἐάν μ’ ἐγκαταλίπης.” οὐδ’ ἀπόκρισις.

699 ἀπολυτρον O.10: ἀπολυτρούνθ’ O.3. 700 ἐντετυχῶς  
with omitted ηκ written above χως O.3, ἐντετυχηκῶ[ O.10.  
701–781 O.10. 702 Suppl. Rea. λεγειτουουτησι O.10 origi-  
nally, with correcting γαρ above του, ι above η added by second  
hand. 703 Speaker wrongly identified as ]μα or ]ρα (i.e.  
γ]ρα(ῦς) ?) in left margin of O.10. δουκανλαβοι O.10 origi-  
nally, with correcting ανου added above λαβοι by second hand.  
ορει interpreted as ὅρει by Austin, Sandbach. 705 τουτο{.}δει-  
νον deciphered by Coles. αλλαταντη O.10. 706 ἀφ[ο]ρᾶ  
suppl. Austin. κρατια O.10. 707 ]αταλειπησ and ]ηφαεγ[  
O.10. 708 Punctuated after πρῶτος by Sandbach.  
709 Punctuated after φιλτάτη by Handley, Mette.  
711 ἐγκαταλιπησ· O.10.



# MISOUMENOS

That you release<sup>a</sup> my girl. I am her father.”  
 “Now I’ve met you, I beg you for her hand  
 In marriage, Demeas.”<sup>b</sup>

700

KLEINIAS

(*aside*)

The man’s come, gone  
 Indoors! This slave has named him—Demeas!

GETAS

(*Still ignoring or not seeing Kleinias*)

Heavens, couldn’t he accept what’s happened with  
 Humanity? Pig-headed, that’s the word.<sup>c</sup>  
 This wasn’t so bad, though, but the girl then turned  
 Her back when he said “I beseech you, don’t  
 Abandon me, Krateia. I took you,  
 A virgin still. I was first called your man.<sup>d</sup> I loved  
 You, love and cherish you, Krateia darling. What’s  
 So painful for you in your life with me? You’ll hear  
 I’m dead, if you abandon me.” Not even one  
 Word in reply!

705

710

<sup>a</sup> The Greek word implies that Demeas would pay a ransom to Thrasonides for the release of his daughter.

<sup>b</sup> The absence here in Menander’s text of names or other indications to identify the quoted speakers implies that the actor playing Getas would be required to imitate their different voices and gestures if he wished their identities to be readily understood by the audience.

<sup>c</sup> Literally ‘Pig on the mountain, that’s the saying.’ The proverb was applied to a person behaving with apparently unreasonable stubbornness like Demeas here.

<sup>d</sup> This implies that Thrasonides and Krateia lived as man and wife, although their situations at the time (free man, slave woman apparently from abroad) prevented any formal marriage.

# MENANDER

## ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

(311) τί πότ' ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

βάρβαρος, λ[έ]αινά τις

ἄν[θρωπος].

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

οὐχ ὀρᾷς με, κακόδαιμον, πάλαι;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἀπροσδόκητόν.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

οὐχ ὑγιαίνει παντελῶς.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

- 715 ἐγὼ μὲν [αὐτήν], μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί,  
οὐκ ἂν ἀπ[έ]λυσ'. Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ πανταχ[οῦ]  
(316) γινόμε[ε]νον ἴσμεν. ἀλλ' ἐλεεῖν ὀρθῶς ἔχει  
τὸν ἀ[ν]τελεοῦνθ'. ὅταν δὲ μηδ' ὑμεῖ[ς ἐ]μέ,  
οὐδὲ λόγον ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχω.  
720 οὐ[κ ἔστι] σοι; τί δ'; οὐθὲν ἄτοπον, ὥς ἐγὼ  
δο[κῶ]. βοήσεται δὲ καὶ βουλευέσεται

719 KT fr. 687

713 Suppl. Handley. γετα O.10 originally, with correcting παλαι added above τα by second hand. 714 ἀπροσδόκητον deciphered by Tsantsanoglou, assigned to Getas by Kraus (O.10 has paragraphus under, but no dicolon at the end of, 713). The rest of the line assigned to Kleinias by Sisti (O.10 has dicolon before ουχ, but no paragraphus under 714). 715 Suppl. Handley.

716 Suppl. Sandbach. 718 ἀ[ν]τελεοῦνθ' suppl. and deciphered by Handley, ὑμεῖ[ς ἐ]μέ by Rea. 720 ατοπονωσειω is correction written by second hand on top of O.10's indecipher-

# MISOUMENOS

KLEINIAS

*(beginning to lose his temper at Getas' failure to notice him)*

Damn it, what's going on?

GETAS

The girl's

A beast, a savage!

KLEINIAS

*(facing Getas)*

Haven't you seen me yet,

You wretch?

GETAS

*(still ignoring Kleinias)*

So unexpected!

KLEINIAS

He's<sup>a</sup> completely mad!

GETAS

Now I would never have released [her], by  
 Apollo here<sup>b</sup>! We know it's a Greek custom,  
 And goes on everywhere. But pity's only right if it's  
 Reciprocated. When you two<sup>c</sup> refuse,  
 I shan't heed or regard you, either! You  
 [Can't do] that? Why, there's nothing odd in this,  
 I think. Well, he will bellow and make up his mind

715

720

<sup>a</sup> Getas presumably, if this remark is correctly assigned to Kleinias. <sup>b</sup> He points to the altar or pillar erected to Apollo Agyieus by the door of his house. See the note on *Dyskolos* 659. <sup>c</sup> Demeas and Krateia.

able original text. 721 Suppl. Mette. *βουλευεται* O.10 originally, with correcting *σ* written by first hand above second *υ*.

MENANDER

- (321) κ[τα]νεῖν ἑαυτόν. στὰς βλέπει δὲ πῦρ ἄμα  
ου[. . .] ἐκεῖ καὶ δράττεται <γε> τῶν τριχῶν.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

ἄν[θρωπε], κατακόψεις με.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

χ[α]ῖρε, Κλεινία.

- 725 π[όθεν πάρ]εσθ’;

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

οὐμός τι θορυβεῖν φαίνεται

. . .]. . . . .ε]λθὼν δ[.]ε.ισ’ ὡς ὁ ξένος

(The lines from 727 to 756 are severely holed and abraded. They are printed below with the paragraphhi as written in O.10, and with those assignments to speakers which are either given by O.10 or suggested by the textual content.)

- (326) ..[

(?)

..[

]..[

730

]..ι δευτερ.[

]νουκαλ. . .[

- (331)

τα. .[     ].[     ].[     ].[     ]ν

. [ . . . . . . . . ] . γω. .

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ε.ε.εν[. . .], Κλεινία.

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

ουκ[. . . . . . . .] α. . ν. [ . . . ] . τρ. . θέων

# MISOUMENOS

To kill himself. He stands there, eyes aflame,  
As well as (?) [                      ], and tears his hair!

KLEINIAS

(*angrily, to Getas*)

Man, you'll provoke me!

GETAS

(*now noticing Kleinias now for the first time*)

Hello, Kleinias!

(*aside*)

[Where]'s he [sprung from]?

KLEINIAS

My friend's arrival seems

725

To be creating mayhem! [                      ] My guest

(*From 727 to 756 abrasion, holes and tears in the papyrus have wiped out virtually the whole text. Only occasional words, names of characters, and marks to indicate the ends of speeches are decipherable. Getas speaks in the middle of 733 and at 741; Kleinias is addressed at 733, Getas at 736; Demeas is mentioned at 735. Most of the recognisable words are inconsequential: not and gods*

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722 Suppl. Webster. Punctuated before *στὰς* by Arnott (*στας'* followed by short space in O.10). 723 <γε> Handley: *δρατ-τεταιτων* O.10. 724 *χα[ι]ρε* suppl. Handley, *κατακόψει* deciphered by Webster. 725 Before initial *π* two letters deleted by second hand in O.10. *π[όθεν πάρ]εσθ'* suppl. Handley. *τι* deciphered by Rea. 728 Indecipherable traces of speaker's name in O.10's left margin. 733 After *].γω.* dicolon, with suprascript *γετ* identifying speaker of what follows, in O.10. 734 Speaker identified as *.ε* (? = *γε*) in O.10's left margin.



# MENANDER

735 *εὐεργ*[*ετ*..].*ηρ*.[..]. [*Δ*]ημέα[.]

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

*.η.αρ..*

..*ε.ρ*[.....].*εξ*..[.....]. *Γέτα*

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ (?)

(336) .....].[.....]*με*[...]..*μεν*.[

.....]....[.....]

*ε*.[..].[.....].*επ*[...]..*γ'*[..].*νοσ*[

740 *ἐγὼ* [...]..*ηρ*[...]..*ηκε γὰρ*

ΓΕΤΑΣ

*ε.ινα*[.....].[.....]*ζεται*

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

(341) *εἰσέρχο*[*μαι* .....].[...].*ου σφ*[ό]*δρα* [

ΓΕΤΑΣ

*τὸ μὲν* [..... *γέ*]*γονεν* [..].*ριστα.ο*[

.....[.....].[.....].*βίο*[*ς*

745 *οὗ φησι* [..].[.....]*δια*[

..]*λασ*[..].[.....].*σλα*[.....].[

(346) ..].*α*[..].[...].[.....].*ασ*[..].[

..].*τ*[..].[.....].*α.τ. κατὰ τὸν* [

ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ

*πό*[*ει*] *δὲ τ*[οὐ]*το*· *ρ*[..].*εσ*[...] *ἐμπειρία*[

ΓΕΤΑΣ

750 *γα*[.]*λ*[.....]*α*[.]*τ*[..]*τ*[.] *καὶ πλάνης γεν*[

735 *εὐεργ*[*ετ* Austin, Turner. Over *η.αρ* indecipherable traces of speaker's name. 737, 743 Indecipherable traces of speaker's name in O.10's left margin. 741 Speaker identified as ]τ (? = *γε*]τ) in O.10's left margin.

734, I *and* for 740, very much 742, has *or* have become 743, life 744, says . . . that not 745, according to the 748, do *or* does this *and* experience 749, and 753, when *or* whenever 755, *perhaps* daughter 756. Two snippets may be tentatively related to incidents in the plot: benefit or benefactor (735) to Thrasonides' return of Krateia to her father, and wanderer or wandering (750) to Demeas' travels in search of his family. Two further words may help to elucidate movements on and off stage. At 742 one of the two characters on stage says I'm going in, and at 751, if the papyrus is correctly deciphered, a character is addressed as slave. We may assume that Kleinias and Getas talk with each other at least up to 742, presumably focusing their attention on Thrasonides' release of Krateia and her father's and her total rejection of him. If the 'slave' of 751 is addressed in person and not apostrophised, he is most likely to be Getas, still on stage, and so the person who announces his intention to depart at 742 must be Kleinias. The most plausible scenario is that after Kleinias makes his announcement, he stays chatting with Getas until 750,<sup>a</sup> when he goes off into his own house. Directly afterwards a new character enters; the content of his subsequent remarks, together with his entitlement to address Getas as 'slave', identifies him as Thrasonides,

<sup>a</sup> Note in the papyrus the paragraphi under lines 742, perhaps 749 and 750, and the traces of speakers' names in the left margin of lines 743 and perhaps 750.

742 Suppl. Austin, Turner. 749, 750 Traces of paragraphi are uncertain. 749 Suppl. Turner (with πο[εῖ: πό[ει Arnott).

750 Coles detects traces of ink in O.10's left margin (speaker's name?) and deciphered καὶ πλάνης. γεν[ written as a correction over an erased . . . εδ. .[ in O.10.

# MENANDER

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

- (351) .]. .ι[.]. .[. . . . .]. η[. . . . .]. ανα. .σ.ε παῖ  
 . . . . .]σα[. . . . .] . . . . .[. . . . .]περι[  
 καὶ .α[. . . . .]. .ε. .ι[. . . . .]. ε.[  
 .]. .[. . . . .α[. . . . .]. .[. . . . .]αι[. . . . .]. α. .[

## ΓΕΤΑΣ

- 755 .]. .[. . . . .]. . . . . ὁπόταν δ[  
 εγκ[. . . . .]. . . . .[. . . . .]ο [θυ]γάτριον[ν.

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

- (356) .]. . με μικρόψ[ν]χον εἰπέ τι[ς] τυχόν  
 .]. ηλ. . . νθ'. .]. πολλὰ πρ[ά]γματ[α  
 εἰ δ' εἰς μέσον . . . . . φερ. . . [  
 760 ἕτερον . . τουτ. .αν. . . . .ελ.[  
 ἔστ' ὥστ' ἔ[χ]ειν με καὶ λίθον ψυχὴν φερ[.]. .  
 (361) ποεί<ν> τ' ἄδηλον τοῖς συνοῦσι τὴν νόσ[ο]ν  
 δυνήσ[ομ.]. .[. . . . .]. . . . .[. . . . .]. .]. τίνα [?  
 τρόπον [κα]θέξ[ω τ]οῦτο καὶ ῥᾶον φέρω.  
 765 ἀπαμφιεῖ γὰρ τὸ κατάπλαστον τοῦτό μου  
 καὶ λανθάνειν βουλόμενον ἢ μέθη ποτέ.

765–766 *Mis. fr. 8 Kō.*

752 *περι* deciphered by Coles, perhaps at verse end.

752–756 Portions of these lines may be preserved in O.26 (printed below as fr. 3), whose text appears not to match that of O.10 at all significant points. 754, 756 Coles detects traces of ink under the beginnings of these two lines (paragraphi?). 755 ὁπόταν tentatively deciphered by Turner. 756 Deciphered by Austin. 757 Indecipherable traces perhaps of speaker's name in O.10's left margin. *μικροψ[.]χον* O.10. 761 Tentatively suppl. and deciphered by Handley. 762 *Corr.* Handley:

# MISOUMENOS

*now emerging from his house. It is likely that Thrasonides' speech to Getas at 751 ff. is briefly answered before the slave departs at 756. Thrasonides is now alone and launches into the long monologue that continues right until the end of the fourth act.)*

## THRASONIDES

] Maybe a man called me small-minded— 757  
] many things.

But if in public [  
This other (?) [ ] is [ 760  
], to own and [wear] a heart of stone (?).

[I] shall be able to conceal my pain  
From those I'm with [ ], how [I']ll  
Control and bear this burden with less toil—  
For drink will one day tear away this bandage which 765  
I wear, though I should seek to hide the wound. 766

*(Despite some holes and abrasions in the papyrus, the opening of this monologue presents a speaker who appears to reject any accusation of small-mindedness (based presumably on his willingness to restore Krateia to her father without a struggle), and is determined to steel himself and not to sink (like other unhappy lovers in Greco-Roman comedy) into either maudlin self-pity or an alcoholic haze. In the more seriously damaged lines after 766 (767, 768, 778, 779, 783–786 are too indecipherable for any word to be translated) Thrasonides seems to begin by reviewing his past relationship with Krateia: he loved her, but the two 'didn't fix it' (771)—perhaps a reference to their failure to put the union on a more formal footing.)*

---

ποει O.10. 764 Corr. (φέρων apparently O.10), suppl. and deciphered by Turner.

- (366) . . . .]κ.[. . . . .].[  
 . . .[. .].[. .].[. .].[. .].[  
 ἐ[γ]ὼ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτ' οὐ. . ' ο[  
 770 ἀγαπωμένη παρ. . .[  
 οὐχ ἡρμόσαμεν αὐτὸ.[  
 (371) οδυν[. .] . . νκα[. .] . θ'[. . . .].[  
 εἴπη προσελθὼν .π. . . .[. .] . λη[. .].[  
 ἐστὶν Κράτειά σοι· καθέζετα[ι  
 775 λυπρὰ κα. . . . ματα[  
 (375a) ἐγὼ τετ. .[. . . . .] . . . . .[  
 (375b) εἴπα[ς] ἔκλα[ον .] . . . .[  
 . . . . ψατ' . .[. .] . .[. . .] αβ. . . .[  
 εἰ. .β. . .[  
 780 ἀπασι[. .].[  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπ[ε]ρ .[ ἀλλὰ τί;  
 (380a) . . . . .[ ]έχει[

769 Suppl. and deciphered by Handley.

773 *ειπηι* or *ειζηι* (i.e. εἰ ζῆ) O.10.

776 and 782 are written intralinearly between 775 and 777, 781 and 783 respectively, either as corrections of the lines immediately following or more probably because they had been originally omitted by error.

777 Suppl. Arnott.

781 Suppl. Austin.

782–806 O.10, O.23.



# MISOUMENOS

You see, I'd [ ] this [ ] 769

She being loved 770

We didn't fix it (?) [

Pain (?) [

He come and say [

Krateia is to you. She sits [

Painful [ 775

I[

I said, and broke down (?) [ 777

To all [ 780

But as [ ] But what *or* why?

] has *or* have [

*(The lines that follow are much better preserved, partly because of the recent identification of a second papyrus containing the central portions of lines 782 to 806, partly because re-examination of the previously known papyrus has shed substantial new light on these lines.*

In addition to solving old problems, however, that illumination produces a paradoxical new one. At 790 Thrasonides says 'Simiche's come out' (cf. the contextless 'came out' in 789). Simiche is likely to have been an old female slave (cf. her namesake in the *Dyskolos*), and since she cannot be identified with either Kleinias' old female slave (apparently named Syra) or Krateia's nurse (apparently named Chrysis: see note on line 555), she must in all probability be considered an additional member of Thrasonides' household. She may not now be entering for the first time in the play (her ownership or links with any of the other characters are not described here, so it seems likely that she was already familiar to the audience), and the reason for her presence on stage at this point (? to

- (380b) .]....[ ]σδν.[  
 8-10 letters ]υπροτ[ 8 letters? ].[...].α[  
 785 8-10 letters ].τοκ.[.....].].]ιαν[  
 .....]ειπωσειρ[.].π[....].....[  
 ...]κρινεῖ τὴν α[ἰτί]αν [..].ε.ι[  
 (385) ..]α γὰρ φρασαι ....ον. .ο.ωτ.[.].[  
 ἐ]ξῆλθεν ἔνεχ' ..[.....]......[  
 790 ὀργῇ σ', ἐλεεινός. Σιμίχῃ 'ξελήλυ[θ]εν.  
 τ]ί φής; πέπονθ' ἅπα[ν]θ'; ὑπὲρ ταύτης λαλε[ίς];

786 ]ειπω[ O.23, ]ιπωσειρ[ O.10.

787 Suppl. and corr. tentatively M(argaret) (]κρινεῖ: ? or κρινεῖ uncompounded, Arnott) and H(erwig) (α[ἰτί]αν) Maehler: ]κρινητηνα[ O.10, ].ε[ ]τηνα[...].αν[ O.23.

788 γα[ O.23, ]αρ O.10. 789 ]ξεληθενενεχ O.10 with χ corrected from κ.

790 'ξελήλυ[θ]εν M. Maehler after Turner (]ελήλυ[θ]εν): ελ[...].ινοσσειμιχη (or κη) εξεληλυ[.]εν O.10, ελεειν[...].σιμιχ[ O.23.

791 ]ιφησπεπονθαπα[.]θ'υπερταυτας (with α deleted after θ' and η written as correction above second α of ταυτας), ]ησπεπονθ'[.].π[...].ταθ'υ. [ (= ? [α]π[αν]τα θ') O.23. τ]ί and λαλε[ίς] suppl. Turner.

# MISOUMENOS

*console or advise Thrasonides) is not made clear. All the available evidence indicates that she was played now by a mute; neither of the two papyri gives any clear indication of change of speaker between 776 and 816, and the structure and contexts of the text itself make it difficult to organise the lines as a dialogue between Thrasonides and Simiche. We must accordingly assume that when she comes out, she mimes her conversation with Thrasonides, so that Thrasonides is compelled to repeat her words aloud for the benefit of an audience accustomed to this convention (see in this play already 660, 677–679).*

But why should this artificial convention be employed here? Elsewhere it is normally forced on the playwright by the contemporary limitation on the number of speaking actors available to him. At this point of the play, however, such a restriction is not a problem. Thrasonides is the one speaker from 757 to 816, and the actor who left the stage as Kleinias at 750 had plenty of time to change costume and re-emerge as Simiche at 781 or 782.

Translation of Thrasonides' monologue becomes feasible again at line 787. The following passage combines imagined repetition of Simiche's mimed words with self-address, and so 'you' at times means Simiche, at times Thrasonides. This may confuse a reader, but an actor's use of voice and gesture would easily remove any problems in performance.)

] will judge the cause (*or* blame) [ 787  
 For [ ] to show [   
 Came out because of [ ] you  
 In anger. Poor man! Simiche's come out. What's that 790  
 You say? She's suffered everything? You're taking her

- μέ[λ]ει τ' ἐμοὶ ταύτης δι' ἐμαντόν; μὴ λέγε.  
 (390) ἐμόν τ' ἀτύχημα τοῦτ'; ἐκέ[λ]νον μὴ] ψέγω;  
 οὐκουν ἔν ἐστι τοῦτό σοι, τὸ κωλύε[ι]ν  
 795 ταύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τοῦτο[ν; <ἀλλὰ> παντ]αχοῦ  
 οὕτως ἔχει. τὰ πρόσθε γενό[μεν' ἀ]νατ[ρέπει  
 τὸ ζῆν. ἀφήσεις; ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ "θέλξ[εις] ἄ[π]αν  
 (395) οἴκτω τὸ μισοῦν ὡς σεαυτόν; ἀσχα[λᾶς]."  
 καὶ τίς ὁ βίος σοι; ποῦ τὸ τῆ[ς] σ[ω]τηρίας  
 800 ἐπίσημον; εἴ τις ὁμ[ό]σε ταῖ[ς] ὁ[ρ]γαῖς τρέχοι—  
 πλεονεξία τοῦτ', εἶπερ; ἀρπάσαι βλέπων  
 ἴσως ἰταμὸς εἶ. τῷ λογισμῷ νῦν γενοῦ  
 (400) εὐψυχος. ἀ[π]όρως ζῆθ', ὀδυνηρῶς, ἀσθενῶ[ς].  
 ὄν[ε]ιδος αὐτῇ τοῦτο καταλιπεῖν σε δεῖ  
 805 ἀθάνατον. εὖ παθοῦς' ἐτιμωρήσατο

792 μέ[λ]ει suppl. M. Maehler: μέ[.]ειτεμοιτανησδιε[.]αυ-  
 τονμη (οἱ μοι) λεγε O.10, ]ειτεμοιτα[.]ησδιεμ[ O.23.

793 ἐ]μόν suppl. H. Maehler, ἐκέ[λ]νον suppl. M. Maehler, μὴ  
 Handley: ]μοντατυχηματουτελε[.....]ψεγω O.10 (perhaps  
 with λ corrected to κ), ]νατυχηματ. .τεκε[ O.23 794 ἔν ἐστι  
 so articulated by Handley. το οἱ τι O.23. κωλύε[ι]ν suppl. and  
 deciphered by M. Maehler. 795 ταυτην in O.10 glossed by  
 suprascript κρ[ατε]ιαν (suppl. M. Maehler). τουτ[.....]αχου  
 O.10: τοῦτο[ν suppl. M. Maehler, <ἀλλὰ> H. Maehler (metre  
 and the length of O.10's gap compel the assumption of a scribal  
 omission), παντ]αχοῦ Austin. 796 πρόσθε Handley: χει-  
 προσθεν O.10, ταπροσθεν οἱ -σθεν O.23. γενό[μενα suppl. M.  
 Maehler, ἀ]νατ[ρέπει Handley. 797 αλλερεῖ O.10: αλερεῖ  
 O.23. θέλξ[εις] suppl. H. Maehler, ἄ[π]αν Handley. 798 οικτω  
 O.10: ]ρω (i.e. from οικτ[ρ]ω ?) O.23. ἀσχα[ O.10: suppl. M.  
 Maehler. 799 Suppl. M. Maehler: τη[...].]ηρ.ια[ O.10,



Side? I care for her selfishly? Don't say so!  
 And this is my bad luck? [Can't] I blame him?  
 Well then, prevent him taking her—can't you  
 Do this one thing? But that's the rule, all over! 795  
 Those past events [turn] my life [topsy-turvy]!  
 You'll let her go? But will she then say "You'll  
 Charm all my hate away by pity for you? You're  
 Upset." What life's before you? Where's your badge  
 Of Safety<sup>a</sup>? Yet if one could fight these rages (?) — 800  
 Too much to hope for, that, perhaps! You've plunder in  
 Your look, maybe you're reckless! Now, be logical.  
 Be brave! Make your life futile, painful, feeble.  
 You must bequeath her this as her eternal  
 Reproach: 'She was well-treated. In return 805

<sup>a</sup> The allusion is puzzling. Thrasonides is a soldier, and one possibility is that he is referring to a device emblazoned on his shield of a god (Zeus?) or goddess (Artemis, Athena, Demeter?) who familiarly had the title of 'Saviour'. If the shield had been described in a lost earlier scene, Thrasonides would now be wryly asking himself 'What's the point of your Safety badge, if you can sink so easily into despair?'

τη[...].ρ.α.σ O.23. 800 Suppl. and deciphered by Handley (ὀργαῖς already M. Maehler): ...σεται[...].ργαιστ[...]ει O.10 with ο written above the ε of ει: .τα[...].αισ[ O.23.  
 801 εἴπερ tentatively deciphered by Handley. 802 τῶ tentatively M. Maehler: τότε O.10 (torn off in O.23). 803 ἀ[π]ό-ρως suppl. Turner, ζῆθ' deciphered by Handley, ἀσθενῶ[ς suppl. M. Maehler. 804 ὄν[ε]ιδος suppl. Turner. αὐτη (with η written above and slightly in front of the α) O.10. καταλιπειν O.23: κατ[α]λε[ι]πειν presumably O.10. 805 παθουσ'ετιμωρησατο O.10: ]σαστιμ[ (? error for -σα ετιμ-) O.23.



- (403) τὸν τὰγάθ' αὐτῇ δόντα. πῶς ο[ὐ]κ ἔ[σ]τι μοι  
 (404\*) ]·εἰν με προσποου[μεν  
 (405\*) π]έμψαι τοῦτον εἰ[ς  
 ]εν.δ[. .]ησθαι[.]εσ[  
 810 ] γὰρ [. . ἐσ]τιν οὐτω[  
 ].[ ]ωτηκ. . .[  
 τ]ύχοις ἂν εἰ [   
 (410\*) ]τίς πά[θ]η[  
 ] ἀνοσιωτ[  
 815 ]ησιν τινα[  
 κ]αὶ τρισαθλ[ι

ΧΟ Ρ ΟΥ

ΜΕΡΟΣ Ε΄

ΓΕΤΑΣ (?)

- (415\*) εἰ]μαντὸν ν[  
 ]νη που τ[  
 ] τὸ φάρμ[ακον  
 820 ]εστ[  
 (418\*) ]ρ.[

806 ο[ὐ]κ suppl. Austin, ἔ[σ]τι Turner.

807-821 O.23.

807-808 κατα]νέειν με προσποου[μένω / τὸν παῖδα π]έμψαι  
 τοῦτον εἰ[ς τὴν οἰκίαν *exempli gratia* suppl. M. Maehler.

810 Traces of ink above the ρ of γὰρ in O.23.

812 Or τ]νχοῦσαν εἰ.

813, 816, 817, 819 Suppl. M. Maehler.

She abused her benefactor.' Perhaps I may  
 [Wreak some revenge] by feigning [suicide,]  
 [Then] send this [slave of mine] into [their house]

808

*(From line 807 to the end of the act the papyrus preserves only small fragments of each line. The supplements printed above for 807 and 808 are very uncertain; if correct, they would provide advance warning of one possible development in the fifth act. From 809 to 816 only a few words can be deciphered (for and thus 810, you might happen or be lucky if (?) 812, unholy 814, and thrice wretched 816); these words and phrases match the tone of, but add nothing to, what Thrasonides had said before. At the end of 816 Thrasonides presumably retired into his own house; whether Simiche accompanied him, or had departed earlier during the monologue, is unknown. When the stage is empty, the chorus gives their fourth entr'acte performance.)*

## ACT V

*(After the chorus's performance, a few words are preserved from the opening five lines of the final act: a male myself 817, where or somewhere or somewhat 818, the drug 819). The speaker and his subject are uncertain; one possibility is that Getas has emerged from Thrasonides' house with the information that his master is taking or has taken a drug in order to put himself to sleep and thus simulate suicide. There is then a gap in our text of 99 lines or so, about whose contents we can only speculate. If the previous hints (cf. 722, 807, 819) that Thrasonides after his rejection by Krateia was contemplating, or planning to simulate, suicide were intended to prepare for events in the fifth act, the gap after line 821 would be an obvious*

# MENANDER

(After 821 there is a lacuna of about 99 lines.)

- (404) ]εις  
 920 ]  
 ]ς  
 (407) ]ν  
 ]θη  
 ]  
 925 ].[  
 ]ν κακὸν  
 (412) ]  
 ]αι  
 ]  
 930 ]  
 ] παρῆν  
 (417) ].

(After 932 there is a lacuna of between 11 and 17 lines.)

## ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ (?)

- (418) οὐκέτι [  
 Θρασω[νίδ  
 950 τί τανα[  
 καλῶς [  
 (422) οὐ παιδ[  
 ζηλοτυπ[ο  
 ἃ νῦν λε[γ

919-932, 948-958 O.7. 948 ff. Speaker uncertain: tentative identification as Krateia's brother by Guidorizzi. 949, 953, 954 Suppl. Grenfell and Hunt.

## MISOUMENOS

place for them; one interpretation of the Mytilene mosaic (see my introduction to *Misoumenos*) suggests a way in which they could have been staged, with Getas demonstrating to Demeas and Krateia how his master had attempted to strangle (not drug!) himself. During this gap too Krateia's brother is likely to have returned, and thus removed the grounds for Krateia's hatred of Thrasonides.

After the gap we have only the very ends of lines 919–932, yielding just two decipherable words (bad 926, I or he or she was there 931); neither speaker(s) nor situation(s) can be gauged. There follows another gap, of between 11 and 17 lines, before we come to the final 49 lines of the play, which are rather more informative although only partially preserved. From 948 to 957 we have the line-beginning of a speech by an unidentified character: No longer 948, Thrasonides 949, What 950, Well 951, Not a child (?) 952, Jealous 953, What [ ] now says 954, To the work or action 955, Two hundred 956, By Zeus 957, Withdraw 958. At the end of 958 he appears to have withdrawn from the stage, and Getas enters (probably from Kleinias' house), apparently addressing the departing figure brusquely as 'man' (959). This implies that he was a stranger to Getas, and the likeliest candidate for such an address would be Krateia's brother newly arrived on the scene and so far unknown to Getas. Although the lines after 958 are still incompletely preserved, they often yield enough information about what is going on to justify a translation with more speculative, though (I trust) no less plausible, supplementation than is normal in this edition of Menander.

As the speaker of lines 948–958 departs, Getas enters,

955 εἰς τοῦρ[γον  
διακοσι[  
(427) νῆ Δία τ[  
ἀναγέ[.].[

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας, ἄνθρ[ωπ', ἄπιθι].

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

[τί τοῦτο, παῖ;

960 φαίνει γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ν..[

ΓΕΤΑΣ

διδόασί σοι γυναῖκα ..[

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

(432) προσενξάμην ..αν..[

ΓΕΤΑΣ

οὕτως ἀγαθὸ[ν] γέ[νοιτο

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

οὐκ ἔξα[π]ατᾶς δε[ (?) ]

ΓΕΤΑΣ

[ ]

955 Suppl. Grenfell and Hunt.

958–959 O.7 has the

speaker's name γε(τας) in the left margin between these two lines, but its paraphrasis is under 959, not 958.

959–974 O.7, O.10. 959 ἄνθρ[ωπ' suppl. Turner, ἄπιθι *exempli gratia* Arnott, τί τοῦτο, παῖ; (with attribution to Thrasonides) Sisti. 960 φαίνει γὰρ deciphered by Handley: φαίνε[ O.7, ]. .γ.ραγαθ.νν. .[ O.10. 961 σοι O.10: ν[ or μ[ O.7. 962 Assigned to Thrasonides by Arnott: no paraphrasis under the line in O.7. 963, 964 Suppl. Turner.



# MISOUMENOS

*probably from Kleinias' house. Thrasonides is there to meet him; he either left his house at the same time as Getas left Kleinias', or was already on stage. In the latter event he must have seen or talked with the man provisionally identified as Krateia's brother.)*

GETAS

*(to the man departing)*

[Move off], man, from the doorway!

THRASONIDES

[Hey, what's this?] 959

*(to Getas)*

You seem [to have] good [news 960

GETAS

They're<sup>a</sup> offering you [the girl you love] in marriage!

THRASONIDES

I prayed [for this, but how can I believe you?]

GETAS

As [I] do hope to prosper, [that's the truth!]

THRASONIDES

You're not deceiving me?

GETAS

[Of course I'm not!]

<sup>a</sup> Presumably Demeas and Krateia's brother, whose arrival removed the major obstacle to Krateia's marriage to Thrasonides: her belief that her brother had been killed by Thrasonides.

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ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

965 πῶς εἶπεν;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

Ἦρ[άκλεις,

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

(437) τὰ ῥήματ' αὐτά μοι [φράσον  
λέγων τάχα τρέχ', εἰ [

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἔλεγεν· “θυγατρίον, [τοῦτον ἂν βούλοι' ἔχειν;”  
“ναί,” φησί, “πάππα, βούλ[ομαι  
970 ἦκουσ'· ἃ δ' ἦκουσα.ε[ χαρᾶς (?)  
ἔκπλεα γελω.άγ'ηπ.[

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

(442) ἀγαθὰ λέγεις.

ΓΕΤΑΣ

ἐφήδομ'· ἀ[λλὰ τὴν θύραν  
ψοφεῖ τις αὐτῶν.

ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

πρ[ός σε νῦν ἐξέρχομαι.

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

καλῶς ποῶν.

965 Traces of speaker's name in O.10 above ηρ[. 965, 966, 969 Suppl. Turner. 967 τρέχ', εἰ [ tentatively Arnott, but τρέχει[ς (Turner) is equally possible. 968 Suppl. *exempli gratia* Arnott. 969 πάππα Turner: παπα O.10, but see apparatus on 614. 970 ηκουσα[ O.7: εκουσ. O.10. χαρᾶς suppl. *exempli gratia* Turner. 971 εκλπλεαγελω.αγ' O.10 (γέλωτά γ' or γελῶσά γ' are both possible): εκπλει.[ O.7. 972 ἀ[λλὰ

# MISOUMENOS

THRASONIDES

How did he speak?

GETAS

I swear [

965

THRASONIDES

[Tell] me the exact words [her father said],  
Hurry up and say them, if [

GETAS

His words were "Daughter, [would you wish to marry  
him?"]

She said, "Yes, daddy, I do wish." [That's what]  
I heard, and what I heard fills [me with joy] —  
[She too] laughed (?) [

970

THRASONIDES

Your news is wonderful.

GETAS

I'm pleased—[but] one of them's

Rattling<sup>a</sup> [the door].

*(Kleinias' door opens, and Demeas emerges. He is probably alone, since in Athens the presence of the future bride was not required at the ceremony of betrothal.)*

DEMEAS

*(to Thrasonides)*

[I've come to see you now.]

THRASONIDES

That's kind of you.

<sup>a</sup> By opening it from the inside: see the note on line 684.

---

suppl. Austin, τὴν θύραν Turner. 973 Speaker's name  
δη(μεας) written above πρ[ in O.10. Suppl. *exempli gratia*  
Sandbach. 974 O.10 has the spelling ποιων.

# MENANDER

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- 975 δίδωμι τὴν ἐμὴν θυγ[ατέρα σοί γ' ἔχειν,  
καὶ δύο τάλαντα προῖκ' [ἐπ' αὐτῇ].

## ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ

[λαμβάνω·

- (447) μόνον ἀπόδος σύ, Δημέ[α, τὴν θυγατέρα.  
πάντας γὰρ .ντ.σ[  
ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου [.].ε.[  
980 δέειπνον ξένια κ[αὶ  
ἀλλ' εἰσί[ωμ]εν ...[  
(452) γε[.].[.....]..[  
πα.[  
ἐπ' αὔρ[ιον  
985 .].[.]οπ[.....]α[  
ἔστ' ἔνδο[ν

## ΔΗΜΕΑΣ

- (457) οὐ πρ[ο]φ[έρει]τε . .νν.[  
εἰ[έ]ν· μετέμελ' αὐτ[ῇ]

974 Suppl. Webster. 975–996 O.10. 975 θυγ[ατέρα σοι  
suppl. Webster, γ' ἔχειν Arnott. 976 Suppl. and assigned to  
speakers by Borgogno. 977 Suppl. *exempli gratia* Sandbach.  
978 γὰρ deciphered by Sandbach. 980, 984, 987, 988 Suppl.  
Turner. 981, 986 Suppl. Handley.

<sup>a</sup> On the dowry and quaint formula of betrothal see the note  
on *Dyskolos* 843.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably all the others who would be involved in the  
wedding ceremonies: Krateia, her brother, perhaps Kleinias.

# MISOUMENOS

DEMEAS

(*formally*)

I give [to you] my daughter,  
[To have and hold, to harvest lawful] children, and 975  
[With her] a dowry of two talents.<sup>a</sup>

THRASONIDES

[I accept—]

But just restore to me [your daughter], Demeas!  
For all [  
By chance [  
A dinner—the host's gift—and [ 980  
But let's go in [  
[  
[  
Tomorrow [  
[ 985  
[Krateia] is inside [

*(Although the papyrus text hereabouts is badly damaged, the final exchanges are easy to understand. After the formal betrothal, Thrasonides appears to reflect on the influence of chance on events, and then promises to host a celebratory dinner that evening inside his house. Tomorrow will be the wedding, when Thrasonides formally takes his bride from her father and escorts her to his house.)*

DEMEAS

*(to Thrasonides as he turns to go into his house along with Getas)*

Don't bring [them] out now<sup>b</sup> [

*(to the audience)*

So be it. She regretted [her past conduct



- 990 παιδάριον, ἄψας δᾶ[δας ἡμῶν ἐκδίδου,  
στεφάνους τ' ἔ[χο]ντε[ς  
καὶ μηδέπω δειπν[  
(462) προσμείνατ' ἐπ. .[  
ὑμᾶς ν. . .[. .].λ. · μ[ειράκια, παῖδες καλοί,  
ἄνδρες, πρεπόν[τω]ς πά[ντες ἐπικροτήσατε.  
995 ἡ δ' εὐπάτειρα φιλόγε[λως τε παρθένος  
(466) Νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐ[μενῆς ἔποιτ' αἰεί.

989 Suppl. *exempli gratia* Turner. 990 Suppl. Turner.  
991 μηδεπο O.10 before correction. 993 Suppl. Austin.  
994 πρεπόν[τω]ς πά[ντες suppl. and deciphered by Austin, ἐπι-  
κροτήσατε suppl. Arnott. 995, 996 Suppl. Turner.  
996 νεικη O.10. Under the last line in O.10 is a colophon  
Μενάνδ[ρου] / Θρασων[ίδης· / εὐνοια τῷ ἀναγ[ιγνώσκοντι  
καὶ] / τῷ γράψ[α]ντι .[ (Θρασων[ίδης suppl. several, γρά-  
ψ[α]ντι Austin, the rest Turner).

*Three small papyrus fragments which do not overlap  
any otherwise known part of the play*

1 (Fr. 3 of O.11 = fr. 2 Sisti)

[. [ 1, ]δεκ[ 2, ]ων[ 3, ]νκ[ 4, ]...[ 5, ].φ.[ 6, ]...[ 7,  
]ειν[ 8, ]το.σ[ 9, ]...[ 10, ]ψ.[ 11, ]συν[ 12, ].εδ[ 13,  
]φοι[ 14, ]μ[ 15, ]εισν[ 16, ]χοι[ 17.

<sup>a</sup> The emblems of celebration and revelry: cf. *Dysk.* 963 f.  
(with Sandbach's note in his Commentary, *ad loc.*) and *Sik.* 418 f.

## MISOUMENOS

(to a slave emerging from Kleinias' house)

Slave, light the torch[es, hand them out to us,]

And with the garlands<sup>a</sup> [

990

Don't yet [let's have the] dinner, [but

Wait for [

You [            ]

(to the audience again)

[Youths, pretty boys,] men, all of you —

Give us our due applause! May Victory,

That merry [virgin], born of noble line,

995

[Attend] us with her favour [all our days]!<sup>b</sup>

(At the end of the text, the scribe has added a personal colophon:<sup>c</sup> Menander's *Thrasonides*.<sup>d</sup> Best wishes to the reader and the scribe.)

*From Misoumenos three further small scraps of papyrus survive, but their original position in the play is uncertain.*

### 1

*A tiny scrap of O.11, containing fewer than five letters from each of seventeen lines of the play. Not a single word here can be deciphered.*

<sup>b</sup> A conventional formula that also ends Menander's *Dysk.* (968 f.) and *Sik.* (422 f.).

<sup>c</sup> E. G. Turner, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Suppl. 17 (1965), 73, cites some parallels.

<sup>d</sup> The scribe's title is *Thrasonides*, not *Misoumenos*: see my introduction to the play, and E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford 1968), 65 f.

# MENANDER

## 2 (Fr. 3 of O.23)

5  
 ].[  
 ]οση.[  
 ].οιν.[  
 ]σδν.[  
 (?) σπ]άθην[  
 (?) νο]μίζω[

## 3 (O.26)

This scrap of papyrus was plausibly attributed by its first editor, P. J. Parsons, to *Misoumenos* because in lines 2–4 parts of the names of three characters (Krateia, Demeas, Kleinias) from the play can be recognised, while line 6 seems to preserve the first syllable of *θυγάτηρ* or a related diminutive ('daughter'), and this relationship of Krateia to Demeas is a stressed feature of the plot (968, 975, cf. 613 ff.).

A possible match of lines 5 (ονταλ.[) and 6 (οθυγ[) in this scrap was suggested by Austin (see ed. pr. p. 47); unfortunately the three preceding lines in O.10 are so badly abraded that it is impossible to detect any matching in these lines also. If O.26 did contain portions of 752–756, however, the text of O.10 in lines 752–754 was either misread by its first and subsequent editors, or differed from that offered by O.26.

5  
 ]....[...].[  
 Κρά]τειαν ἐξαγε[  
 δ]ακρύει Δημέ[as  
 ]ν οὐχὶ μικρὰ Κλε[ινι  
 ]. ἐαυτόν, ταλ.[  
 ].α. δεῦρο θυγ[  
 ]....[

## MISOUMENOS

### 2

*A tiny scrap of O.23, containing fewer than six letters from each of six lines of the play. Line 5 may contain the word sword, line 6 think or think[ing].*

---

5, 6 Suppl. M. Maehler. Over the  $\omega$  traces of ink (? name of speaker or correction). Although line 4 matches 783, lines 1 to 3 and 5 to 6 cannot be fitted into corresponding positions in 780–782 and 784–785.

### 3

*O.26, preserving one or two words in each of six successive lines (bring or brings out [Kra]teia 2, Deme[as] is weeping 3, not small things, Kle[inias] 4, himself or yourself 5, here dau[ghter] 6), has been attributed to Misooumenos because successive lines contain the admittedly mutilated names of three of its characters, together with a possible reference to a daughter.*

---

2–6 Suppl. Parsons. 5 Or σεαυτόν, then τᾶλλα or part of τάλας. 6 θυγ[ατέρα (Parsons) or θυγ[άτριον (Arnott). Although lines 5 and 6 seem at first sight to match the abraded remains towards the ends of lines 755 (ταλ.δ[ ] and 756 (].ατρι.[ ], it is difficult to match line 2 with 752 (]περι[ near line-end).

*Eight fragments of Μισούμενος,  
quoted by ancient authors*

4 (Fr. 3 Körte and Sisti, 2 Sandbach)

Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* 4. 1. 19: ἀλλ' εἰ σὺ αἰσχύνῃ τὰ σαντοῦ ὁμολογεῖν, ὅρα ἂ λέγει καὶ ποιεῖ ὁ Θρασωνίδης, ὃς τοσαῦτα στρατενόμενος ὅσα τάχα οὐδὲ σύ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξελέλυθε νυκτός, ὅτε ὁ Γέτας οὐ τολμᾷ ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ προσηναγκάζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἂν ἐπικρανεύσας καὶ τὴν πικρὰν δουλείαν ἀπολοφυράμενος ἐξήλθεν. εἶτα τί λέγει; Here the two-line fragment is quoted (with φησὶν added after με in v.1); shortly afterwards Epictetus adds: εἶτα ξίφος αἰτεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑπ' εὐνοίας μὴ διδόντα χαλεπαίνει καὶ δῶρα τῇ μισούσῃ πέμπει καὶ δέεται καὶ κλαίει, πάλιν δὲ μικρὰ εὐημερήσας ἐπαίρεται.

Line one of the fragment is quoted less accurately by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2. 15. 64. 2 (2 p. 147. 16 ff. Stählin) τὸν γὰρ κωμικὸν ἐκείνον Θρασωνίδην ἄλλη σκηνηὴ παιδισκάριόν με, φησὶν, εὐτελὲς καταδεδούλωκεν.

παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές,  
ὃν οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν πολεμίων <οὐ> πώποτε.

1 καταδεδούλωκ' Salmasius: καταδεδούλωκεν Arrian.

2 οὐδὲ εἰς Korais: οὐδεὶς ms. <οὐ> πώποτε Meineke: πώποτε ms.



## MISOUMENOS

\* \* \*

### *Eight fragments of Misoumenos, quoted by ancient authors*

#### 4

Arrian's version of Epictetus' discourses: But if you're ashamed to admit to your own actions, just see what Thrasonides says and does! After going on so many campaigns—more perhaps than even you!—first he's come outside during the night, when Getas can't face coming out, and if he had been forced out of doors by Thrasonides, he'd have emerged making a great number of loud protests and lamenting his bitter enslavement. Then what does Thrasonides say?

By a cheap little slave-girl I'm enslaved,  
Who've not been by a single foe before!

... Then he asks for a sword and is furious with the man who out of kindness refuses to give him one. He sends presents to the girl who hates him; he pleads and weeps; then, after gaining a little success, he becomes elated again.

*Epictetus' description of Thrasonides' actions, when verifiable, seems reasonably accurate. The soldier does emerge in the dark of a stormy night (line 1) and is not joined by an irritated Getas until 15; the request for, and refusal of, a sword may come in the context of 509, where the text is badly damaged; his tearful entreaties to Krateia are described by Getas at 696. His gifts to Krateia and 'the little success' that he gained thereby, if accurately attributed to the play by Epictetus, must have been staged or described in a lost section of the play. The two lines cited by Epictetus were most probably uttered by Thrasonides at an early stage in the play, perhaps in a lost part of his opening conversation with Getas (e.g. 59–63, 69–77, 101 ff.)*

# MENANDER

5 (7 Kö, 5 Sa, 4 Si)

Scholiast on Homer, *Odyssey* 17.442: ὅτι αἰεὶ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἡ Κύπρος βασιλεῖς ἐν ταύτῳ φησι καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Μισουνμένῳ ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει (corr. Heath: παραβάσει mss.):

ἐκ Κύπρου λαμπρῶς πάνν  
πράττων· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὑπό τιν' ἦν τῶν βασιλέων.

1 Corr. Meineke: λαμπρῶς πάνν λαμπρά mss.

6 (12 Kö, 6 Sa, 5 Si)

Pollux 10. 145 f.: ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σπάθην ἐπὶ τοῦ ξίφους εἰρήκασιν, εὖροις ἂν . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ Μισουνμένῳ Μένανδρος ὅταν λέγῃ·

ἀφανεῖς γεγόνασιν αἱ σπάθαι

7 (4 Kö, 7 Sa, 6 Si)

[Justin Martyr], *De monarchia* 5 (p. 142 in Otto's second edition): ἐν Μισουνμένῳ δὲ πάλιν ἀποφαίνων περὶ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς παραλαμβανομένων τὰς γνώμας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐλέγχων ὡς οὐκ ὄντας ὁ αὐτὸς Μένανδρος·

εἰ γὰρ ἐπίδοιμι τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν <πάλιν>  
λάβοιμ' ἐγὼ· νυνὶ γὰρ—ἀλλὰ ποῦ θεοὺς  
οὕτω δικαίους ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν, ὦ Γέτα;

1 <πάλιν> added by Bentley.

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<sup>a</sup> See my introduction to *Misoumenos*.

## MISOUMENOS

*Clement of Alexandria inserts line 1 of the fragment into a comment: 'Another scene has the comic character Thrasonides saying "By a little slave girl cheap I'm enslaved."'*

### 5

A scholiast on Homer's *Odyssey*: Menander too says parenthetically in *Misoumenos* that Cyprus always had many kings at one and the same time (?):

From Cyprus, with most glorious  
Achievements. There he (*or I*) served one of their  
kings.<sup>a</sup>

*Possibly from the lost prologue, describing Thrasonides' success on his last campaign, or (with 'I served') from a boast by Thrasonides himself at any stage of the play.*

### 6

Pollux: As evidence that they have also used the word *σπάθη* in the sense of "sword", . . . you will find it also in the *Misoumenos* when Menander says:

The blades (*σπάθαι*) have disappeared.

*Presumably a remark by Thrasonides, after Getas moved all the lethal weapons in Thrasonides' house to that of Kleinias. See my discussion of lines 502–531.*

### 7

An anonymous essay, falsely attributed to Justin the Martyr: The same Menander, revealing again in *Misoumenos* his views on those accepted as gods, or rather rejecting them as not gods at all, (writes):

If I could only see this and revive  
My spirits once [again], for now—but where, Getas,  
Can one find gods with principles so honest?

8 (10 Kō, 8 Sa, 7 Si)

A scholiast on Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 423, and the *Suda* s.v. Λακωνικαὶ κλείδες (λ 64 Adler): Μένανδρος Μισουνμένῳ (so correctly the scholiast: Μισουνμέναις *Suda*):

Λακωνικὴ κλείς ἐστίν, ὥς ἔοικέ, μοι  
περιοιστέα.

καὶ φασιν (καὶ φασιν omitted by *Suda*) ὅτι ἔξωθεν περι-  
κλείεται, μοχλοῦ περιτιθεμένου ἢ τινος τοιούτου, ὥστε  
τοῖς ἔνδον μὴ εἶναι ἀνοίξαι.

1 Correctly punctuated after ἔοικέ by Sandbach.

9 (13 Kō, 9 Sa, 8 Si)

The *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων* (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* 1. 429. 27 ff.) and the *Suda* s.v. ἀποκτινύναι (α 3372 Adler): καὶ ἀπεκτόνασιν, οὐκ ἀπεκτάγκασι. Μισουνμένῳ (so correctly the *Συναγωγὴ*: μισοῦσι μὲν, ᾧ mss. of the *Suda*).

πάτερ, †μὲν θρασωνι†, ἀπεκτάγκασι δ' οὔ.

## MISOUMENOS

*Presumably a depressed Thrasonides talking to his slave, but there is no way of identifying the context with any confidence. Perhaps early in the fifth act, after Thrasonides' total and (in his view) unreasonable rejection by Krateia and Demeas in the fourth.*

### 8

A scholiast on Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, and the *Suda*, under the heading 'Spartan keys': Menander in *Misoumenos*,

Apparently I've got to haul around  
A Spartan key.

They say that the lock works from outside, with a bar or something similar being attached, preventing those inside from being able to open it.

*Spartan keys had a high reputation for security; those mentioned by Aristophanes in the passage from which this scholion derives had three wards. Was Menander's speaker Thrasonides, seeking to lock Krateia up in her part of his house, or was he Kleinias, realising the importance of keeping safe all the swords stored in his house? We have no means of knowing.*

### 9

The anonymous *Lexicon of Useful Terms* s.v. ἀποκίννυσιν (a variant form of a verb meaning 'he kills'), and the *Suda* s.v. ἀποκτινύναι (a related variant form meaning 'to kill'): And (they say) ἀπεκτόνασιν (the normal Attic word for 'they have killed'), not ἀπεκτάγκασιν (a variant form with the same meaning). In *Misoumenos*:

Father, Thrasonides (?)—they haven't killed him!



10 (14 Kö, 10 Sa, 9 Si)

Photius (2. 169 Naber) s.v. σπαθᾶν· Μένανδρος Μισουμένω· τὸ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι.

11 (11 Sa, 10<sup>1</sup> Si)

Photius (K. Tsantsanoglou, *New Fragments of Greek Literature from the Lexicon of Photius*, Athens 1984, 129) s.v. ἐνερόχως· νεκρόχως. Μένανδρος Μισουμένω.

*A quotation from an unnamed play in an ancient author,  
doubtfully attributed to Μισούμενος*

12 (12 Sa, 11 Si)

Hermias' commentary on Plato, *Phaedrus* 230e (p. 33. 11 ff. Couvreur): οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἀπλῶς φαῦλον τὸ ἐρᾶν, ὥς . . . ὁ εἰπὼν "πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκῳ γαστρὸς αὖξεται Κύπρις" (TrGF 2. 67 F186), καὶ "οὐπωποτε {φησὶν} (del. Couvreur) ἡράσθης, Γέτα;" "οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην", φησὶν.

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<sup>a</sup> See the note on fr. 10 of *Heros*.

## MISOUMENOS

*A puzzling remark, presumably made by Krateia to Demeas, most probably in the fifth act after her brother had arrived safe and well. The precise point of the reference to Thrasonides (if the corrupt Greek text is rightly interpreted as, or emended to, his name) remains uncertain so long as we lack the preceding context.*

### 10

Photius s.v. *σπαθαῖν* (literally: to strike the woof in an upright loom with the *σπάθη*, a flat wooden blade used to bring the threads together): Menander in *Misoumenos* (used the word in the sense) 'to boast falsely'.

*Since soldiers in ancient comedy were often portrayed as lying braggarts, it is probable that the verb was used about Thrasonides.*

### 11

Photius s.v. *ἐνερόχρως*: 'with the complexion of a corpse'. Menander in *Misoumenos*.

*Perhaps a description (by Getas ?) of Thrasonides' appearance after he had pretended in the fifth act to commit suicide.*

*A quotation from an unnamed play in an ancient author, doubtfully attributed to Misoumenos*

### 12

Hermias of Alexandria's commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus*: Some assumed that being in love was simply vulgar, like . . . the man who said "The bulk of a full maw makes passion grow",<sup>a</sup> and

## MENANDER

(ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗΣ ?)

οὐπώποτ' ἡράσθης, Γέτα;

ΓΕΤΑΣ

οὐ γὰρ ἐνεπλήσθην.

Fragment 12 was tentatively assigned to *Misoumenos* by Meineke. Characters named Getas, however, appear in other comedies by Menander (e.g. *Dyskolos*, *Heros*, *Perinthia*), and Leo's suggestion that this fr. might derive from the opening scene of *Heros*, where a slave in love addresses a Getas, is equally plausible (see fr. 10 there).

### *Five testimonia about Μισούμενος*

#### I (Fr. 1 Kö and Sa, Test. 1 Si)

Choricus XLII = declamation 12 (p. 509. 8 ff. Foerster-Richsteig): ἔχεις ἐκ τῆς κωμωδίας παραλαβών, ὥς ὑπερογκόν τι καὶ σοβαρὸν καὶ πολλή τις ἀλαζονεία στρατιώτης ἀνήρ. εἴ τις ὑμῶν τὸν Μενάνδρου φαντάζεται Θρασωνίδην, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω. στρατιωτικὴν γάρ φησιν ἀηδίαν νοσοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῷ (corr. Meineke: αὐτῷ mss.) κινήσαι τὴν ἐρωμένην· καὶ γέγονεν ἀμέλει προσηγορία τῷ δράματι τοῦ Θρασωνίδου τὸ μῖσος.

#### II (Test. 2 Si)

Diogenes Laertius 7. 130: τὸν γοῦν Θρασωνίδην καίπερ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρωμένην διὰ τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῆς.

## MISOUMENOS

(THRASONIDES ?)

Were you never in love, Getas?

GETAS

No, for I never ate my fill.

So he says.

*Hermias does not name the author of the second passage quoted, and its attribution to Misoumenos is uncertain. It could derive from a lost portion of the initial dialogue between Getas and Daos, or from another play (see also Heros fr. 10).*

### *Five testimonia about Misoumenos*

#### I

Choricius of Gaza: Having the evidence of comedy you know that a soldier is a larger-than-life, swashbuckling creature, with a great deal of false pretension. Any of you who can form a picture of Menander's Thrasonides knows what I mean. He says that this fellow, suffering from the disease of a soldier's disagreeable character, drove the girl he loved to loathe him. In fact this hatred of Thrasonides has come to be the play's title.

*This passage is the main source of information about the presentation of Thrasonides (in some parts of the play at least) as the type of braggart soldier so familiar in ancient comedy.*

#### II

Diogenes Laertius: (Stoic writers say that) although Thrasonides at any rate had the girl he loved in his power, he kept his hands off her because of the hatred he inspired.

## MENANDER

### III (Test. 3 Si)

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 2. 18. 5 (2. 2, p. 180 in the edition of Adelin Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau, Paris 1982): Sed mihi uidentur eius passionem qui est apud comicum Menandrum ualde amans (animas CV) et odibilis (hodibilia C, odibilia V) Aeoni suo circumdedit.

### IV (Test. 4 Si)

Plutarch, *Moralia*. 1095d (*Non posse suauiter uiui secundum Epicurum* 13): καὶ Θρασωνίδας τινὰς καὶ Θρασυλέοντας, ὁλολυγμοὺς καὶ κροτοθορύβους ποιούντας.

### V (Fr. 2 Kö)

Simplicius, commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* 2. 8, 199<sup>b</sup> 18 (p. 384. 13 Diels): καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ ἔνεκά του, ὅταν λέγωμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ τύχης ἦλθεν ὁ ξένος καὶ λυτρωσάμενος τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ Δημέας τὴν Κράτειαν, ἀπῆλθεν ἢ ἀφῆκε. The reference here to Menander's *Misoumenos* was first noted by Hunt.

Less informative references to the play can be found in Alciphron's letter 4.19.19, Agathias' and Fronto's epigrams in the Palatine Anthology 5. 218 v. 11 and 12. 233 v. 3 respectively, and Martial's epigram 14. 214: see F. Sisti's edition of the play (Genoa 1985), 16 f. (his testimonia 5–8).



## MISOUMENOS

### III

Irenaeus: (The heretics) seem to have endowed their Aeon<sup>a</sup> with the passion of the man who in Menander, the comic poet, is very much in love and odious.

### IV

Plutarch: The likes of Thrasonides and Thrasyleon,<sup>b</sup> who break out in 'wild jubilations' and 'uproarious applause'.<sup>c</sup>

### V

Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*: Even in things that happen 'by chance', there appears to be an identifiable or unidentified purpose, as for instance when we say that the stranger arrived by chance and went away after releasing the captive or sent him away, like Demeas in Menander with Krateia.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> One of a complement of thirty divinities with this name in a form of Gnostic belief formulated by Valentinus and attacked here as heretical by Irenaeus. See especially F.-M.-M. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de Saint Irénée* (Paris 1947), and the Rousseau-Doutreleau edition of Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* 2.1 (Paris 1982), 138–156.

<sup>b</sup> The title of another play by Menander.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch is here quoting Epicurus (cf. fr. 143 Usener = 71 Arrighetti); cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia* 1117a (*Adversus Colotem* 17).

<sup>d</sup> On this passage see especially G. Vogt-Spira, *Dramaturgie des Zufalls* (Zetemata 88, Munich 1992), 39.



PERIKEIROMENE

(THE GIRL WITH  
HER HAIR CUT SHORT)



## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscripts*

C = *P. Cairensis* 43227, part of a papyrus codex from Aphroditopolis written in the fifth century A.D. The codex originally contained at least five plays written by Menander; *Perikeiromene* was fourth in order (between *Epitrepontes* and an unknown play). Extant in C are lines 121–190, 261–406, 480–550, 708–725, 742–760. First edition: G. Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre*, Cairo 1907, incorporating many suggestions by M. Croiset (cf. *Fragments* p. xii f.); Lefebvre's *Papyrus de Ménandre*, Cairo 1911, with a revised text, includes photographs of the papyrus. New photographs of C were published in 1978 by the Institute of Classical Studies, London (see my bibliographical supplement, printed after the preface).

H = *P. Heidelberg* 219, a scrap of papyrus dating from the second century A.D., contains the end portions of lines 162–179. First edition: G. A. Gerhard, *Sitzungsberichte Heidelberg*, 1911, section 4, with a photograph.

L = *P.* (or more correctly *Membr.*) *Leipzig* 613, two damaged pages from a parchment codex dated to the third century A.D. This codex originally contained several plays, in which *Perikeiromene* came second. Extant in L



are lines 467–529, 768–827. First edition: A. Körte, *Sitzungsberichte Leipzig*, 60 (1908), 147–175, with photographs.

O = (i) *P. Oxyrhynchus* 211, a fragment of a papyrus roll written at the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D. It contains one whole column (lines 976–1026) and the ends of a few lines in the preceding column (? 925–928, ? 930–931, ? 951, ? 962, ? 966, ? 969–970). First edition: B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 2 (1899), 11–20, with a plate showing only lines 976–1008; the papyrus was re-edited by G. M. Browne, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 21 (1974), 43–54, with a better and complete photograph; see also the plates in W. E. H. Cockle, *Quaderni Urbinati*, 23 (1976), between pp. 48 and 49.

(ii) *P. Oxyrhynchus* 2830, a scrap of papyrus roll dating to the third century A.D. It contains the beginnings of lines 473–492 and decipherable endings of three lines in the previous column which come somewhere in the lacuna between 406 and 467, either before or after the end of the second act. First edition: E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 38 (1971), 27–29, with a photograph.

(iii) *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3705, a scrap of papyrus first published by M. W. Haslam, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 53 (1986), 47 f., and dated by him to the third century A.D. Preserved is the first half of an iambic trimeter which is repeated three times with varied musical settings. M. Huys, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 99 (1993), 30–32, noted that its text (τοῦ δὲ τόπου τι μνη[ ]) was identical with *Perikeiromene* 796. From the third century B.C. onwards it was common for professional

## PERIKEIROMENE

entertainers to set to music extracts even from previously spoken parts of earlier Greek drama for their performances.<sup>1</sup>

Fragments 1 and 2 are quotations from different sources. See Introduction to Volume I, pp. xxiv–xxv.

### *Pictorial Evidence*

(i) A wall-painting of the second century A.D. from a house in the centre of Ephesus. It is inscribed IIEPI-KEIPOMENH (*Perikeiromene*) and shows three figures. On the left stands a woman whose long cloak has been raised at the back so that it conceals her hair. She has turned away from the seated figure of a young, unbearded man in the centre who wears a military-style cloak knotted over the right shoulder. He seems to be gazing gloomily into the distance. To his right stands the third figure, badly faded and of indeterminate sex, but with the right arm raised in an emotional gesture. Although these characters are not identified by name on the painting, the first two are clearly Glykera concealing her savaged hair, and a disconsolate Polemon; the third may be Sosias, Polemon's slave. None of the extant portions of the play brings these three figures on stage together, and the most likely assumption is that the artist painted one of the play's more memorable but now lost scenes, perhaps the play's opening (see my comments on that opening below). Authoritative publication of the painting: V. M. Strocka, *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesus* (*Forsch-*

<sup>1</sup> Some surviving examples are listed by B. Gentili, *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* (Amsterdam and Uithoorn 1979), 19 f.

ungen in *Ephesus* VIII/1, Vienna 1977), 48, 55 f. and colour plate 66; cf. also my paper in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 71 (1988), 11–15.

(ii) Two amateurish ink-drawings of the second or third century A.D. on scraps of papyrus. One (*P. Oxyrhynchus* 2652) shows a woman in full face wearing a knee-length tunic buckled over the right shoulder and belted at the waist. Her hair drops in ringlets to her neck. Her right arm is bent across her breast, and her left clasps by her waist a scarf or cloak dropping from her left shoulder. The identification ΑΓΝΟΙΑ (Misconception) has been written above her head. The other scrap (*P. Oxyrhynchus* 2653) preserves only the head and shoulder of an unbearded young man, also in full face, wearing a soldier's helmet with cheek-pieces. Here there is no identity tag in the clear space above the head. The two scraps of papyrus were found in *Oxyrhynchus* not far from each other, and the most plausible hypothesis is that originally they formed part of an illustrated manuscript of Menander's *Perikeiromene* (perhaps the one from which either *P. Oxyrhynchus* 211 or 2830 derives). In that case the illustrations portray the prologue figure and the soldier Polemon. They are published by E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 32 (1967), 180 f., with photographs; the photographs are reproduced in M. Lamagna's edition of the play (Naples 1994), pp. 83, 84.

Some 450 lines of *Perikeiromene* are preserved (121–190, 261–406, 467–550, 708–725, 742–760, 768–827, 976–1026, and the two verses of frs. 1 and 2), probably 40–45 per cent of the play, although its original length is impossible to compute with certainty because of gaps

in our knowledge at crucial points. In his commentary F. H. Sandbach (p. 44 f.) suggests a length of about 1040 lines, basing the figure on a combination of verifiable evidence (lines per page in the extant portions of C) and reasonable but hazardous assumptions (that *Perikeiromene* began on p. 95 of C, prefaced by cast-list and hypothesis like *Heros*, and ended on p. 124). However, even if Sandbach's presuppositions are correct, his computations contain two minor inaccuracies: they assume that the missing pages of C contained 35 lines per page, when the average for C as a whole is 35.765 lines and in extant pages of *Perikeiromene* 36.378; and that the final page of the play in C had a full 35 lines. A more correct estimate, accepting the Sandbach assumptions, would be 1030–1064 lines.

A similar figure can be achieved by a different but equally hazardous argument. The lengths of acts 2 to 5 seem normally (act 2 of *Epitrepontes* is a rare exception) to be roughly equal in individual plays by Menander, with opening acts longer but not disproportionately so. The last extant page of C for *Perikeiromene* has reached somewhere around line 760 of the play, which seems to be between one third and a half of the way through the fourth act. The *Dyskolos*, which is 969 lines long, reaches a similar stage between lines 674 and 701. If the proportions of *Perikeiromene* corresponded, the play would have had a length between 1051 and 1091 lines.

For the reader's convenience the line-numbering of this edition agrees with that devised by Gomme and adopted by Sandbach in his Oxford Text (*Menandri Reliquiae Selectae*, 1972<sup>1</sup>, 1990<sup>2</sup>); this attempts thereby to gauge the original position of each papyrus fragment in



the play. The numbering given in Körte's third Teubner edition (*Menandri quae supersunt* I, Leipzig 1945) is added in brackets.

No hypothesis, didascalical notice, or cast-list is preserved for *Perikeiromene*. Its production date is not recorded, although one certain and one possible reference to historical events of the time may offer clues to the time of composition. At line 125 the prologue mentions 'the war and the Corinthian troubles'. In 315/4 B.C. Cassander attacked Corinth and laid waste some of its territory; in 313 his opponent Antigonos sent an army against several cities in the Peloponnese, but it failed to occupy Corinth; in 308 Ptolemy won Corinth, either by force or by clandestine negotiation; some time after 306 the city was regained by Cassander, who held it until 303, when Demetrius Poliorcetes seized it. Line 125 could refer to any of these assaults.

In the opening scene of act 2 Moschion facetiously offers to make his slave Daos 'an overlord of Greek affairs and a marshal of land forces' (279–280), but Daos appears to reject the proposal because it would lead to his immediate murder (281). E. Schwartz (*Hermes* 64, 1929, 3 f.) suggested that this exchange was inspired by the murder in 314/3 of Alexander son of Polyperchon by a group of Sicyonians shortly after he had been appointed 'general of the Peloponnese' by Cassander, and that Menander must have written the play in that year or immediately afterwards. Schwartz's idea is ingenious and persuasive.

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known

Glykera, Polemon's mistress

Polemon, a Corinthian soldier



## PERIKEIROMENE

Sosias, a slave of Polemon

Doris, a slave of Polemon who acts as Glykera's maid

Moschion, Glykera's twin brother

Daos, the slave of Moschion and of Moschion's foster-father

Pataikos, an old Corinthian, father of Glykera and Moschion

Misconception, a goddess, speaker of the prologue

Myrrhine, Moschion's foster-mother and married to an unidentified husband,<sup>1</sup> does not appear in the extant portions of the play, but she is likely to have had a role, speaking rather than mute, in the play; one of the stage houses belonged to her. A cook may also have had a speaking role (see the note on line 995). In Polemon's 'army' (act III, 467 ff.) there would be three or more mute characters, at least two male slaves and the female piper Habrotonon. There is a conventional chorus of tipsy revellers, to perform the entr'actes.

<sup>1</sup> Misconception mentions only her in the story of Moschion's adoption (121-123, cf. 795); if Myrrhine had had a husband alive at that time, he presumably would have been named as the adopter. She must have married subsequently, for two obscure references in the text imply a husband: to Moschion's '(foster-)father' (713 f.) and to Daos' (senior) master (364). He does not appear in the extant portions of the play, but there is no way of knowing whether he did in one or more of the lost scenes. If he was the Philinos mentioned (1026) as having a marriageable daughter, that daughter would have come from an earlier marriage.

## ΠΕΡΙΚΕΙΡΟΜΕΝΗ

(SCENE: not specified in the preserved portions of the play, but almost certainly a street in Corinth; Misconception's reference to 'the Corinthian troubles' (125) would thus provide a plausible reason for an old woman's distress in or near Corinth, and Polemon, a Corinthian by birth (129), is most likely to have bought property (145 f.) and married a fellow-Corinthian (1013–1015) in his native city. Two houses are certainly visible; one belongs to Polemon (145 f.), the one next to it to Myrrhine and her husband (122 f., 147). Pataikos lives nearby, but there is no evidence in the surviving text that he occupied a third stage house.)

(If *Perikeiromene* began on p. 95 of C, as seems likely,<sup>a</sup> with introductory matter of some 20 lines' length (hypothesis, cast-list) prefixed as it is to *Heros* in C and *Dyskolos* in B (but not to *Aspis* in B), then between 116 and 132 lines must have been lost at the beginning of *Perikeiromene* before C returns with its p. 99 (line 121 of the play in the Gomme-Sandbach numbering). What

<sup>a</sup> This would require *Epitrepontes* to have ended on p. 94 of C, that is (given the fact that extant pages of C contain between 34 and 38 lines per page) between 35 and 76 lines after 1131; cf. volume I, pp. 519–521.

## PERIKEIROMENE

(The Girl with Her Hair Cut Short)

*happened in these lost lines, covering one or two scenes and the opening of Misconception's prologue speech? We can only guess, but we have one certain, one probable and two possible clues, in the following order.*

*In the prologue speech (127 f.) it is clearly stated that Glykera had already been seen by the audience. Directly afterwards (129) the soldier Polemon is described as 'this (τούτου) young impetuous blood', and οὗτος in prologues sometimes means that a character was recently on stage (e.g. Aspis 97, 110, 117), sometimes merely that the character had just been mentioned (e.g. Dyskolos 8, 17, 24). When Sosias appears at 172, he neither identifies himself nor is identified by the character he meets; in Menander this normally indicates that the audience had seen him previously. The Ephesus wall-painting is the final clue; it portrays a polled Glykera, a gloomy Polemon and a third figure tentatively identified above as Sosias, possibly in the opening or second scene of the play.*

*These clues tentatively suggest an opening in which Glykera rushed out of Polemon's house at or just before daybreak directly after Polemon had cut off her hair; there is no need to assume that this action was performed on stage, since the title of Apollodorus' Epidikazomenos,*

which is also a present participle, refers to an off-stage action completed before the play began, as Terence's *Phormio*, modelled on Apollodorus' play, clearly shows. Such an opening, with the silent entry of a distraught character in an unusual situation (possibly attempting to conceal the loss of her locks), would provide the audience with puzzling circumstances designed to grasp their attention even before a word was spoken, as commonly in Greek comedy.<sup>a</sup> Glykera would have been followed on to the stage, either immediately or at some interval, by Polemon and Sosias.

We cannot gauge what was then said, but doubtless expository information would have been included. The audience might have learnt that Polemon and Sosias had just returned from campaigning abroad (499 f.; cf. 182, implying that the slave too had been away), that Sosias had been sent ahead by Polemon yesterday evening to inform Glykera of her lover's return, had surprised Gly-

ΑΓΝΟΙΑ

[τὸ μὲν τρέφειν  
αὐτὴν] προθυμηθεῖσα θῆλυν, τὸ δ' ἕτερον  
γυναικὶ] δοῦναι πλουσίᾳ τήν οἰκίαν

In the apparatus to this play, those corrections and supplements whose author is not identified were made by the first editors of the various papyri: 121–760 G. Lefebvre with M. Croiset (C), 768–827 A. Körte (L), 976–1026 B. Grenfell, A. Hunt, F. Blass (O = *P.Oxy.* 211). New conjectures and supplements of my own are discussed at length in *ZPE*, 109 (1995), 17 ff. 120 Suppl. here *exempli gratia* by Jensen, and 121 by Sudhaus, after Croiset suggested these words elsewhere in the sentence.



## PERIKEIROMENE

*kera in Moschion's arms, and returned post-haste to Polemon with the news. Polemon would have angrily stormed into his house that same night and cut off Glykera's hair.*

*At the end of the introductory scene Glykera would have returned into Polemon's house, and the soldier and his slave would have left by the parodos to the house of one of his friends. Misconception would then have entered an empty stage to deliver her prologue. It is unlikely that much of her speech has been lost; 51 lines of it survive, and comparable divine prologues in Menander number only 48 (*Dyskolos*) or 52 (*Aspis*) lines, although Moschion's (human) prologue speech in *Samia* goes on for more than 90. All that Misconception needs to have said before line 121 is that twin children had been born to Pataikos, whose wife died at their birth (cf. 802–804) and the babies were then exposed; if Menander followed his usual custom in prologues of describing rather than naming characters, he would have identified at the most only one of these three (Pataikos?) by name.)*

*(Page 99 of the Cairo codex begins with Misconception delivering her prologue, postponed to the second or third scene; the opening lines of her speech are lost.)*

### MISCONCEPTION

[to rear]

The] girl [herself] most eager, and to give  
The other to a wealthy [lady] who

121

<sup>a</sup> See my paper in *Drama*, 2 (1993), 14–32.



- (3) ταύτην] κατοικούση, δεομένη παιδίου.  
 γέγον]ε δέ τα[ὕτ'. ἐγγενο]μένων δ' ἐτῶν τινων  
 125 καὶ τ]οῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν Κορινθιακῶν κακῶν  
 αὐξ]ανομένων, ἣ γραῦς ἀπορουμένη σφόδρα,  
 (7) τεθραμμένης τῆς παιδός, ἣν νῦν εἶδετε  
 ὑμεῖς, ἐραστοῦ γενομένου τε τοῦ σφοδροῦ  
 τούτου νεανίσκου γένει Κορινθίου  
 130 ὄντος, δίδωσι τὴν κόρην ὡς θυγατέρα  
 αὐτῆς ἔχειν. ἤδη δ' ἀπειρηκυῖα καὶ  
 (12) προορωμένη τοῦ ζῆν καταστροφὴν τινα  
 αὐτῇ παροῦσαν, οὐκ ἔκρυψε τὴν τύχην,  
 λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὴν μείραχ' ὡς ἀνείλετο  
 135 αὐτήν, ἐν οἷς τε σπαργάνοις<sup>1</sup> διδοῦσ' ἅμα,  
 τὸν ἀγνοούμενόν τ' ἀδελφὸν τῇ φύσει  
 (17) φράζει, προνοουμένη τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων,  
 εἴ ποτε δεηθείη βοηθείας τινός,  
 ὁρῶσα τοῦτον ὄντ' ἀναγκαῖον μόνον  
 140 αὐτῇ, φυλακὴν τε λαμβάνουσα μή ποτε  
 δι' ἐμέ τι τὴν Ἄγνοιαν αὐτοῖς συμπέσῃ  
 (22) ἀκούσιον, πλουτοῦντα καὶ μεθύοντ' ἀεὶ  
 ὁρῶσ' ἐκείνον, εὐπρεπῇ [δ]ὲ κα[ὶ] νέαν  
 ταύτην, βέβαιον δ' οὐθὲν ᾧ κ[ατ]ελε[ί]πετο.  
 145 αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν  
 ἐπρίατο ταύτην ὁ στρατιώτης οὐ πάλαι.  
 (27) ἐν γειτόνων δ' οἰκοῦσα τ[ἀ]δελφοῦ τὸ μὲν

124 γέγον]ε suppl. Weissmann, τα[ὕτ' Körte, ἐγγενο]μένῳ  
 Leo. 125 Suppl. several. 135 διδοῦσ' Croenert, van  
 Herwerden: διδωσ' C. 144 δ' van Leeuwen: θ' C.

# PERIKEIROMENE

Wanted a child. She lives there, in [that] house.

*(She points to Myrrhine's house.)*

This [has been done]. Some years [went by]. The war

And the Corinthian troubles<sup>a</sup> grew much worse, 125

Reducing the old woman<sup>b</sup> to the direst

Of straits. The baby girl's grown up—just now

You saw her—and this young impetuous blood,

Whose family hails from Corinth, fell in love

With her. The woman let him have the girl, 130

Treating her as her daughter. Frail in health

Now, and aware that life's last hour for her

Was near, she didn't keep that episode

A secret, but informed the girl of how

She took her in, giving her as she spoke 135

The baby clothes in which she'd found her. She

Mentioned the unknown blood-brother, as precaution

Against some human tragedy, in case

She ever needed help. She knew he was the girl's

One relative, and wished to guard against 140

Some unintended hurt befalling them

Through me—I'm Misconception. She could see

The boy was wealthy, always drinking, and the girl

Was young and pretty, while the man to whom

The girl was promised never looked reliable. 145

And so she died. Now he—the soldier—has

Just bought that house.

*(Here she points to the second stage house, that of Polemon.)*

The girl lives next door to

<sup>a</sup> Compare 532–534, and see the introduction to this play.

<sup>b</sup> The woman who had originally found the exposed babies.

- πράγμ' οὐ μεμήνυκ' οὐδ' ἐκείνον βούλεται  
 εἶναι δοκοῦντα λαμπρὸν εἰς μεταλλαγὴν  
 150 ἀγαγεῖν, ὄνασθαι δ' ὦν δέδωκεν ἡ τύχη.  
 ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δ' ὀφθείσ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, θρασυτέρου  
 (32) ὥσπερ προείρηκ' ὄντος ἐπιμελῶς τ' αἰὲ  
 φοιτῶντος ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίαν, ἔτυχ' ἐσπέρας  
 π[έ]μπουσά ποι θεράπαιναν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις  
 155 α[ὕ]τῃν γενομένην εἶδεν, εὐθὺ προσδραμὼν  
 ἐφίλει, περιέβ[α]λλ', ἡ δὲ τῷ προειδέ[ναι]  
 (37) ἀδελφὸν ὄντ' οὐκ ἔφυγε, προσιῶν δ' [ὁ θεράπων  
 ὀρᾷ. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτὸς ε[ἴ]ρηχ', ὃν τρ[όπον  
 ὁ μὲν ᾤχετ', εἰπὼν] ὅτι κατὰ σχολὴν ἰδ[εῖν]  
 160 αὐτὴν τι βούλεθ', [ἡ δ'] ἐδάκρυ' ἐστῶσα καὶ  
 ὠδύρεθ' ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐλευθέρως ποεῖν  
 (42) ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ. πάντα δ' ἐξεκάετο  
 ταῦθ' ἔνεκα τοῦ μέλλοντος, εἰς ὀργὴν θ' ἵνα  
 οὗτος ἀφίκητ'—ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦγον οὐ φύσει  
 165 τοιοῦτον ὄντα τοῦτον—ἀρχὴν δ' ἵνα λάβῃ  
 μηνύσεως τὰ λοιπά, τοὺς θ' αὐτῶν ποτε  
 (47) εὖροιεν· ὥστ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐδυσχέραινε τις  
 ἀτιμίαν τ' ἐνόμισε, μεταθέσθω πάλιν.  
 διὰ γὰρ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ κακὸν εἰς ἀγαθὸν ῥέπει

148 μεμήνυκ' several: μεμενηκεν C. 151 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Croenert:  
 υπατου rather than υποτου C. 154 π[.]μπουσα C. 155 Suppl.  
 van Leeuwen. 157 Suppl. Kuiper. 158 ε[ἴ]ρηχ'] and τρ[όπον  
 deciph. and suppl. Jensen (ε[ἴ]ρηκ'] Leo). 159 ἰδ[εῖν] suppl.  
 Sudhaus. 162–179 The later part of these lines is preserved  
 also in H. 162 ἐξεκάετο C: ἐξεκαίετο H. 163 θ' om. H.  
 164 ἀφίκητ' several: αφικετ' C. 167 ἐδυσχεραίνε C:  
 ἐδυσχερανε H.

# PERIKEIROMENE

Her brother, but she's not divulged her secret, she's  
 No wish to blight the young man's prospects, which  
 Appear so bright, she wants him to enjoy 150  
 The gifts of fortune. He's quite hasty, as I said  
 Before, and always hanging with intent  
 About the house. At dusk he chanced to spot  
 Her sending off her maid upon some errand,  
 And when he saw her by the door, he ran 155  
 Straight up, he kissed and hugged her. She didn't try  
 Escaping, for she knew he was her brother.  
 [That slave]<sup>a</sup> appeared and saw it. He himself['s]  
 [Described] the outcome—how the youth<sup>b</sup> went off  
 Saying he'd like to see her when convenient, 160  
 While she stood there in tears and sobbed "She wasn't  
 At liberty to act like that." This all  
 Blazed up to spark off future incidents,  
 To goad him into rage—I spurred him on,  
 He's not like that by nature, but I aimed to launch 165  
 Revelations from the outcome—and at last  
 To make them find their families. So, if this  
 Shocks anyone and seems disgraceful,<sup>c</sup> he must change  
 His views. With god's help evil turns to good,

<sup>a</sup> She means Sosias, if this supplement is correct.

<sup>b</sup> The 'youth' of course is Moschion, 'she' (161) is Glykera, then 'him' (164) Polemon. Prologue-speakers rarely name the characters they are describing.

<sup>c</sup> Athenian audiences at times protested so vociferously against 'unacceptable' incidents and ideas in the plays staged before them that performances could be disrupted or halted; see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd edition, revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1968), 272 f.



- 170 γινόμενον. ἔρρωσθ' εὐμενείς τε γενόμενοι  
ἡμῖν, θεαταί, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σῶζετε.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- (52) ὁ σοβαρὸς ἡμῖν ἀρτίως καὶ πολεμικός,  
ὁ τὰς γυναικάς οὐκ ἔων ἔχειν τρίχας,  
κλάει κατακλινείς. κατέλαβον ποούμενον  
175 ἄριστον αὐτοῖς ἄρτι, καὶ συνηγμένοι  
εἰς ταυτόν εἰσιν οἱ συνηθείς, τοῦ φέρειν  
(57) αὐτὸν τὸ π[ρ]ᾶγμα ῥᾶον. οὐκ ἔχων δ' ὅπως  
τὰνταῦθ' ἀκο[ύσ]ῃ γινόμεν', ἐκπέπομφέ με  
ἱμάτιον οἷσοντ' ἐξεπίτηδες, οὐδὲ ἐν  
180 δεόμενος· ἀλλ' ἦ περιπατεῖν με βούλεται;

ΔΩΡΙΣ

ἐγὼ προελθο[ῦ]σ' ὄψομαι, κεκτημένη.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- (62) ἡ Δωρίς. οἶα γέγονεν, ὥς δ' ἐρρωμένη.  
ζῶσιν τρόπον τιν', ὥς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται,  
αὗται. πορεύσομαι δέ.

171 σωζετε C: σωσατε H.

174 κατελαβον H: κατελιπον C.

175 αρτι C: γαρτι H.

178 γινομεν' C: γε[ ] H.

180 ἀλλ' ἦ Meister: αλλη C.

181 Deciph. and suppl. Jensen.



PERIKEIROMENE

Right from conception. Audience, good-bye, 170  
And smile on us, support the coming scenes.

*(Exit the goddess Misconception, either by a side-entrance (if she delivered her prologue on the stage itself) or down from the roof of the stage-building (if she spoke from there). After her departure Polemon's slave Sosias enters from the side by which he had previously left. He has come from the house where Polemon has taken up temporary residence since his breach with Glykera.)*

SOSIAS

Our swaggering soldier of an hour ago—  
The one who won't let ladies keep their hair—  
Now lies upon his couch in tears. Just now  
I found some lunch being fixed for them, his friends 175  
Have mustered there together, just to help  
Him soldier through this business with less pain.  
He had no means of learning what was going on  
Here, so he's sent me out on purpose just to get  
A cloak, though he needs nothing. Can he just 180  
Want me to run around?

*(Doris now enters from Polemon's house. Her first words are addressed back into the house to Glykera, who must be imagined there inside. She does not see Sosias.)*

DORIS

Mistress, I'll go out there  
And see.

SOSIAS

*(aside)*

It's Doris—how she's grown! How well  
She looks! It's clear to me these women live  
In style. I'm off now.

# MENANDER

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

κόψω τὴν θύραν.

- 185 οὐδείς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἔξω. δυστυχήs,  
 ἥτις στρατιώτην ἔλαβεν ἄνδρα. παράνομοι  
 (67) ἅπαντες, οὐδὲν πιστόν. ὦ κεκτημένη,  
 ὥς ἄδικα πάσχεις. παῖδες.

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

εὐφρανθήσεται

- κλάουσαν αὐτὴν πυθόμενος νῦν. τοῦτο γὰρ  
 190 ἐβουλετ' αὐτός.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

παιδίον, κέλευέ μοι

(Here two pages of C have been lost, producing a lacuna of between 70 and 76 lines.)

184 Kock fr. 860

184 κόψω τὴν θύραν is cited from Menander also by a scholion on *Ar. Nub.* 132.

188–190 This speech (εὐφρανθήσεται—αὐτός) rightly assigned to ὁ δοῦλος by ed. pr. (dicola after παιδες 188 and αυτος 190 in C).

PERIKEIROMENE

*(Sosias goes off into Polemon's house, and then quickly returns with the cloak for which he has been sent, in time to overhear what Doris says about her mistress in her next speech.)*

DORIS

*(moving to the door of Myrrhine's house)*

I'll knock at the door,  
For none of them's outside.

*(She knocks.)*

Unlucky girl!

185

She took a soldier for her partner—they're  
All hooligans, quite unreliable—  
Oh mistress, how unfair your treatment is!

*(She knocks again.)*

Slaves!

SOSIAS

*(aside)*

He'll be glad to hear she's now in tears,  
That's what he wanted.

DORIS

*(knocking once more)*

Slave!

*(The door opens, and she addresses the slave—perhaps Daos—who has come to the door.)*

Give orders, please

190

*(In the gap that follows Doris must have asked Myrrhine, either directly or through her slave, to allow Glykera to move from Polemon's house and stay with Myrrhine after Polemon's assault on her. Myrrhine must have agreed to the request, and Glykera have completed the move, since*

ΔΑΟΣ

- 261      παῖδες. μεθύοντα μειράκια προσέρχεται  
(72)      π[ά]μπολλ'. ἐπαινῶ διαφόρως κεκτημένην·  
         εἴσω πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσάγει τὴν μείρακα.  
         τοῦτ' ἔστι μήτηρ. ὁ [τρ]όφιμος ζητητέος·  
265      ἧ]κει[ν] γὰρ αὐτὸν [τὴν τα]χίστην ἐνθάδε  
         εὔκαιρον εἶναι φαίνεθ', ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.

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ΧΟ Ρ ΟΥ

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ΜΕΡΟΣ Β'

263 ἡμᾶς Leo: νμας C.

265 ἧ]κειν deciph. and suppl. Jensen.

## PERIKEIROMENE

*when we next hear of Glykera (273 f.) she is already in Myrrhine's house. We do not know whether Sosias stayed and witnessed the move; he could have left the stage directly after his comment at 190 in order to return to Polemon (cf. 354). When the Cairo papyrus resumes, Daos, the slave in Myrrhine's household assigned to look after Moschion, is on stage. The first word preserved in his speech appears to end a sentence with a reference to some 'slaves'; these could have been addressed either unseen inside Myrrhine's house (cf. Doris' remark at 181) by Daos as he came on stage, or (more probably) seen along with Daos on stage conveying Glykera's luggage to Myrrhine's house.)*

### DAOS

[	]	
Slaves. There's a horde of rather drunk young men		261
Approaching. I applaud my mistress highly		
For taking in this girl into our house—		
There's a real mother for you! I must find		
My master—clearly now's the time for him		265
To be here at the double, that's my view.		

*(Exit Daos, probably off right, in search of Moschion. We do not know why Moschion is not at home; one possibility is that he left during the gap between lines 190 and 261 to go carousing in town. The approaching horde is the chorus, who now enter after the conventional cue for their first entr'acte performance.)*

### ACT II

*(After the choral entr'acte Daos and Moschion enter, probably from the right, in mid-conversation. Daos has evidently just told Moschion about Glykera's move into*



# MENANDER

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- (77) Δᾶε, π[ολλ]άκις μὲν ἤδη πρὸς μ' ἀπήγγελκας  
 λόγο[ν]ς  
 ο]ὕκ ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀλαζῶν καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς εἶ.  
 εἰ δὲ καὶ [νυ]νὶ πλανᾷς με—

## ΔΑΟΣ

κρέμασον εὐθύς, εἰ [πλανῶ.

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- 270 ἥμερον λέγεις τι.

## ΔΑΟΣ

χρῆσαι πολεμίου τοίνυν [τρόποις.

- ἄ]ν δ' ἀληθὲς ἦ κ[ατα]λάβῃς τ' ἔνδον αὐτὴν  
 ἐν[θά]δε,  
 (82) ὁ δεδιωκῆκ[ὼς ἐγώ] σ[ο]ι ταῦτα [πά]ντα, Μοσχίων,  
 καὶ πεπεικ[ὼς] τῇ[ν] μὲν ἐλθεῖ[ν] δεῦρ', ἀναλώσας  
 [λ]όγους  
 μυρίους, τὴν σ[ὴν δὲ] μητέρ' [ὑποδέχ]εσθαι καὶ  
 ποε[ῖν]  
 275 πάνθ' ἃ σο[ι] δοκεῖ, τίς ἔσομ[αι];

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

[τίς] βίος μάλισθ', [ὄρα,

267 (πρὸς με) Kock fr. 978; 268 Kock fr. 875

267 λόγο[ν]ς deciph. and suppl. Jensen. 269 Suppl. Körte, Leo. 270 Suppl. Arnott. 271 Up to ἦ deciph. and suppl. Wilamowitz, the rest Leo. 272 [πα]ντα deciph. and suppl. several, the rest Sudhaus. 273 τῇ[ν] μὲν deciph. and suppl. Sudhaus (πεπεικ[ὼς]), Schmidt (τῇ[ν] μὲν), Leo ([λ]όγους).

# PERIKEIROMENE

*their house, and is claiming total credit for bringing it about. Their rumbustious conversation is in trochaic tetrameters throughout; the first 27 lines are hard to read, supplement and interpret.)*

MOSCHION

Daos, you have often brought me tales before now that  
were not

True! You are a loud-mouthed charlatan, detested by  
the gods!

If in fact you're fooling me now . . .

DAOS

You can thrash me if [I am].

MOSCHION

That's a mild suggestion.

DAOS

Then behave [just like] an enemy. 270

If it's true, though, and you find her in the house here,  
Moschion,

[I'm] the man who's engineered it all on your behalf,  
the man

Who's persuaded her to come here, drafting countless  
arguments,

And who's got your mother now to [grant her refuge],  
and [to] meet

All your wishes. So what's to become of me?

MOSCHION

[What] sort of life, 275

---

274 Deciph. and suppl. Körte. 275 πάνθ' Croenert, who with several others deciph. and suppl. up to ἔσομ[αι]: ἀπανθ' C. [τίς] suppl. Leo, [ὄρα] Wilamowitz.

MENANDER

Δᾶε, τῶν πάντων ἀρέσκει; [τοῦ]τ' ἐπίβλεψ[ον].

ΔΑΟΣ

[βλέπω.

(87) ἄρα τὸ μυλωθρεῖν κράτιστον;

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

εἰς μυλῶν' ἀ[φίξεται

οὔτοσὶ φερόμενος.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἡ[μ]ῖν μηδ[α]μῶς τέχνη[ν λ]έγ[ε].

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

βούλομαι δὲ προστάτην σε πραγμάτων Ἑλλη[νι]κ[ῶν  
280 κα]ὶ διοικήτην στρατοπέδων . . .

ΔΑΟΣ

[οὐ μ]έλε[ι μοι τῶν ξένων,  
οἷ μ'] ἀποσφά[τ]τουςιν εὐθύς, ἀ[ν τύ]χη,  
[κ]λέ[ψαντά τι.

276 [τοῦ]τ' suppl. Guéraud, the rest Sandbach, who also suggested change of speaker. The lower part of C's page containing 277–293 is so badly worn, rubbed and mutilated

that often decipherment is uncertain and supplementation speculative. 277 C has κράτιστον:, but no paragraphus under the line. μυλων' deciph. Sudhaus, ἀ[φίξεται suppl. Lowe.

278 ἡ[μ]ῖν with following dicolon deciph. and suppl. several, but it makes better sense if taken as the opening word of Daos' speech, cf. ZPE 109 (1995) 16. μηδ[α]μῶς τέχνη[ν] deciph. and suppl. Jensen, [λ]έγ[ε Schmidt. 279 Suppl.

# PERIKEIROMENE

[See now,] Daos, most of all attracts you? Ponder [that].

DAOS

[I do.]

Is it best to be a miller?

MOSCHION

(*aside*)

Daos here [will make his way]

Any day now to the mill!<sup>a</sup>

DAOS

Don't [name] an art or craft to us!

MOSCHION

I should like to see you as an overlord of Greek affairs

And a marshal of land forces . . .

DAOS

[I] [don't] care [for mercenaries], 280

[Who] will promptly cut [my] throat [for any theft], if  
[given the chance].<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Moschion predicts that Daos' misdemeanours will cause him to be sent for punishment to work in a flour mill. See the note on *Heros* 3.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly a reference to the murder in 314/3 of Alexander son of Polyperchon by a group of Sicyonians shortly after he had been appointed 'general of the Peloponnese' by Cassander: see the introduction to this play.

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Ricci. 280 κα]ὶ deciph. and suppl. Körte, [οὐ μ]έλε[ι Sudhaus, Jensen. μοι τῶν ξένων suppl. Jensen. 281 οἷ μ'] suppl. Sudhaus, ἀ[ν τῷ]χῇ deciph. and suppl. Schwartz, [κ]λέ[ψαντά τι Jensen.

# MENANDER

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- (92) ἀλλὰ [. . . . .] ἐκδότης <ὦν>· ἐκδόσει [λήσ]ει λαβὼν  
ἐπτα [τῶν ὀκτῶ] τάλαντα.

## ΔΑΟΣ

- παντοπωλεῖν [βούλομαι,  
Μοσχίων, ἢ [τυρ]οπ[ω]λεῖν ἐ[ν ᾧ]γορᾷ καθήμεν[ος].  
285 ὁμνύω μ[ηδὲν μέλειν μοι πλου]σίῳ καθεσ[τάναι].  
κατ' ἐμὲ ταῦτ', ἐ[μοί τ' ἀρέσκει] μᾶλλον.

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- ἂν[όσιον λέγεις].  
(97) οἶδ' ἐκ[ε]ῖνο· μὴ γένοιτο μελ[ιτόπ]ωλις εὐ[σεβ]ῆς  
γραῦς.

## ΔΑΟΣ

- τὸ γαστρίζεσθ' ἀρέ[σ]κε[ι, γ]εγ[ογέ]ναι δέ  
γ' ἄξιος  
φήμ' ἐφ' οἷς εἶρηκα τούτοις.

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- μὰ [Δία, παῖ, σύ γ' οὐκ ἄφρων

282 Corr., deciph. and suppl. Sudhaus, with ἀλλὰ [κλέψεις] at the beginning, good sense but not fitting the traces. 283 [τῶν ὀκτῶ] suppl. Sudhaus. βούλομαι suppl. Jensen. 284 Deciph. and suppl. Jensen (for [τυρ]οπ[ω]λεῖν compare 290). 285 [πλου]σίῳ deciph. and suppl. Körte, the rest Sudhaus. 286 ἐ[μοί τ' ἀρέσκει] suppl. Sudhaus, the rest *exempli gratia* Jensen. 287 Suppl. Sudhaus provisionally. 288 ἀρέ[σ]κε[ι] deciph. and suppl. Jensen, the rest suppl. provisionally Sandbach. 289 Suppl. Körte, van Herwerden.



## PERIKEIROMENE

### MOSCHION

But [you'll thief (?!)] by farming contracts, that's the way  
you'll [secretly]  
Pocket seven talents [out of every eight]!<sup>a</sup>

### DAOS

A general store,  
Moschion, is what [I'd like], or in the market on a stool  
Selling [cheese]. I swear [I've no desire] to be [a million- 285  
aire].  
That's my line, [I find it] more [attractive].

### MOSCHION

[It's a wicked plan].  
[I recall that proverb], "let me [never] meet a [pious] hag  
Selling honey" (?).<sup>b</sup>

### DAOS

A full belly—that's attractive, [and] I claim  
[I deserve it], after what I've told you.

### MOSCHION

By [Zeus], you're [no fool],

<sup>a</sup> The text here is hard to make out, but the general meaning seems to be that as an 'overlord' or 'marshal' Daos would be able to make vast profits by farming out contracts.

<sup>b</sup> The text of this line is uncertain. The translation here presupposes that Moschion is quoting a proverb claiming that all shopkeepers were dishonest. Unfortunately there is no trace elsewhere in Greek of this particular wording, although contemporary comedians accused many kinds of retail trader—fish-mongers (see Athenaeus 6. 224c–228b) and wine-sellers (for instance Alexis fr. 9, Nicostratus fr. 22; compare Theophrastus, *Characters* 30) in particular—of cheating their customers.

MENANDER

290 ἦσθας· ἀλλὰ τυροπώλει καὶ ταλ[α]ι[πώ]ρει.

ΔΑΟΣ

[καλῶς·

τ]αῦτα μὲ[ν δ]ή, φ[α]σίν, εὐχθω· δ[ε]ῦρο πάραγε τήν  
τε σήν

(102) ο]ϊκίαν ἄνοι[γε], τρώφιμε.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

δεῖ μ[ὲν οὖν· ὀρθῶς λέγεις·

ἐ[μὲ δε] παραμυθεῖσθ' [ἐκεῖ]ν[ην νῦν προσήκει καὶ  
γελᾶν

ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῷ πτεροφόρα χιλιάρχῳ.

ΔΑΟΣ

καὶ μάλα.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

295 εἰσιῶν δέ μοι σύ, Δᾶε, τῶν ὅλων κατάσκοπος

πραγμάτων γενοῦ, τί ποιεῖ, π[ο]ῦ 'στιν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐμὲ

(107) εἰς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἔχουσι πῶς. τὸ τοιοῦτὶ μέρος  
οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δεῖ φρά[σαι] σοι· κομψὸς εἶ.

290 Suppl. Sudhaus, who suggested also the part-division.

291 τ]αῦτα μὲ[ν δ]ή, φ[α]σίν deciph. and suppl. Sudhaus, noting that the phrase was copied by [Aristaenetus] 2. 1. δ[ε]ῦρο πάραγε, τήν τε σήν suppl. Arnott (τήν δὲ σήν van Leeuwen).

292 ο]ϊκίαν ἄνοι[γε] suppl. Sudhaus, the rest Arnott after Sudhaus. 293 Suppl. Sudhaus.

<sup>a</sup> This proverb is cited also by [Aristaenetus] 2. 1 and Dionysius the Areopagite, *De mystica theologia* 1 (*Patrologia Graeca* 3 col. 997).

# PERIKEIROMENE

[Daos]! Sell your cheese, and work your fingers to the bone.

DAOS

(*approaching Myrrhine's door*)

[That's fine.] 290

As the proverb goes, "Let's say amen to that."<sup>a</sup> [Come over here],

Master, [and] unlatch [your] door!<sup>b</sup>

MOSCHION

(*following Daos, and unlocking the door*)

[Yes, you're right,] I ought to. [It's]

[In my interest now] to coax [her], reassure [her, and to gloat]

Over a god-damned commander—with a feather in his cap!<sup>c</sup>

DAOS

Yes indeed.

MOSCHION

Go in, please, Daos, and investigate for me 295

All their actions—what she's<sup>d</sup> doing, where my mother is, how they're

Planning to receive me. There's no need [to] spell this kind of thing

Out to you in detail—you're not stupid.

<sup>b</sup> Hereabouts supplementation is very speculative, but Daos' request for his master to open the door may imply that it had been locked (perhaps just before 261, at the approach of the chorus of revellers), with Moschion having a key.

<sup>c</sup> Polemon is literally described as *χιλίαρχος*, an officer in charge of a unit of 1000 men, and *πτεροφόρας*, wearing a plume in his helmet to indicate his rank.

<sup>d</sup> Glykera.

# MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

πορεύσο[μ]αι.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

περιπατῶν δὲ προσ[με]νῶ σε, <Δᾶε>, πρόσθε τῶν  
θυρῶν.

300 ἀλλ' ἔδειξεν μέν τι τοι[ο]ῦθ', ὥς προσῆλθον  
ἐ[σπ]έρας·

προσδραμόντ' οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ περιβαλοῦσ'  
ἐ[πέσπα]σε.

(112) οὐκ ἀηδής, ὥς ἔοι[κε]ν, εἴμ' ἰδεῖν οὐδ' ἐντ[υχεῖν,  
οἶομαι, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑταῖρ[α]ι[ς] προσφιλῆς.  
τὴν δ' Ἀδράστειαν μάλιστα νῦν ἄρ' [ῶρα]  
προ[σκυνεῖ]ν.

ΔΑΟΣ

305 Μοσχίων, ἡ μὲν λέλονται καὶ κάθεται.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

φιλτάτη.

ΔΑΟΣ

(117) ἡ δὲ μήτηρ σου διοικεῖ περιπα[τοῦ]σ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι.  
εὐτρεπὲς δ' ἄριστόν ἐστ<ιν>, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πο[ο]υμένω[ν]  
περιμένειν δοκοῦσί μ[οί σ]ε.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

κ[αὶ] πάλαι [μένο]ν[σί μ']; οὐκ

298 πορεύσο[μ]αι deciph. and suppl. Körte. 299 <Δᾶε>  
added by Jensen. 300 ἐ[σπ]έρας suppl. Leo. 301 ἐ[πέ-  
σπα]σε suppl. Leo. 302 ἐντ[υχεῖν] suppl. several. 303 Suppl.  
Sudhaus. 304 [ῶρα] suppl. Capps, προ[σκυνεῖ]ν Wilamowitz.  
306 ἐστ' C. 308 κ[αὶ] suppl. Jensen, [μένο]ν[σί μ'] Sandbach  
after Capps. οὐκ misplaced at the beginning of 309 by C.

# PERIKEIROMENE

DAOS

I'll be on my way.

MOSCHION

While I'm waiting for you, I shall take a stroll outside the door,

*(Daos goes off into Myrrhine's house.)*

[Daos]. — Well, she gave a sort of hint on my approach last night. 300

When I sprinted up, she didn't run away, she hugged and [pulled]

[Me to her]. I'm not bad-looking, by Athena, so it seems, Nor bad [company], I fancy—no, the ladies<sup>a</sup> [fall for me]. — For that boast [I must] this instant make [amends] to Nemesis!<sup>b</sup>

*(Daos comes on again from Myrrhine's house.)*

DAOS

Moschion, she's<sup>c</sup> had a bath, she's sitting there.

MOSCHION

The darling girl! 305

DAOS

And your mother's marching round and organising something or

Other. Lunch is ready, and from their activities, it's [you] That they're waiting for, [I] guess.

MOSCHION

[Have they been waiting] long [for me]?

<sup>a</sup> Courtesans, specifically.      <sup>b</sup> The goddess of retribution, to whom one customarily made obeisance after conceited remarks like the one just made by Moschion.      <sup>c</sup> Again, Glykera.



MENANDER

εἴμ' ἀηδής. [ε]ῖπας αὐ[τ]αῖς [νῦν π]αρόντα μ' ἐνθάδε;

ΔΑΟΣ

310 μὰ] Δί[α].

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

νῦν [τ]οί[ν]υν [λ]έγ' ἐλθών.

ΔΑΟΣ

ὥς ὁρᾶς, ἀναστρέφω.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

(122) ἡ μὲν αὐσχ[υν]ε[ῖτ' ἐ]πειδὰ[ν] εἰσίσωμεν δηλαδὴ,  
 παρακαλύ[ψεται τ', ἔθo]ς γὰρ τ[ο]ῦ[τ]ο· τὴν δὲ  
 μητέρα  
 εἰσιόντ' εὐθ[ὺς] φιληῖσαι δεῖ μ', ἀνακτήσασθ' ὅλως,  
 εἰς τὸ κολακεύειν τραπέσθαι, ζῆν τε πρὸς ταύτην  
 ἀπλῶς·

315 ὥς γὰρ οἰκείῳ κέχρηται τῷ παρόντι πράγματι.  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν θύραν ψοφεῖ τις ἐξιών. τί τοῦτο, παῖ;  
 (127) ὥς ὀκνηρῶς μοι προσέρχε[ι], Δᾶε.

ΔΑΟΣ

ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία·

πάνν γὰρ ἄτοπον. ὥς γὰρ ἐλθὼν εἶπα πρὸς τὴν  
 μητέρα

309 [ε]ῖπας Leo: ]ιπαις C. [νῦν π]αρόντα suppl. Meister.

310 Suppl. Jensen, but after Δί[α] there hardly seems room for a dicolon. 311 αἰσχ[υν]ε[ῖτ' suppl. Sudhaus, the rest Jensen.

312 Deciph. and suppl. Körte from comparison with [Aristaenetus] 2. 2. 315 οἰκείῳ Sudhaus: οικειως C. 318 ἄτοπον

Sudhaus: ατοπως C.

PERIKEIROMENE

I'm not unattractive! Did you let them know I've [just] arrived?

DAOS

[No,] I didn't.

MOSCHION

So go and tell them now!

DAOS

*(going off into Myrrhine's house)*

I'm on my way back, as 310

You can see.

MOSCHION

*(musing alone to himself)*

She'[ll] be embarrassed when we go in, that is clear,  
And she'[ll] hide her face, for that's [quite normal]. First  
though I must kiss

Mother right on entry, and secure her absolute support,  
Try to show her some attention, simply live for her alone.  
She's dealt with this present trouble just as if it were her 315  
own.

But the door is creaking—someone's coming out.

*(Moschion turns to Daos as he re-enters from Myrrhine's house.)*

Oh! What's up? How

Timidly you're walking to me, Daos!

DAOS

Yes indeed, by Zeus.  
It's all very strange. When I approached your mother with  
the news

MENANDER

ὅτι πάρει, “μηδὲν ἔτι τούτων,” φησ[ί, “πῶς δ’  
ἀ]κήκοεν;

320 ἦ σὺ λελάληκας πρὸς αὐτ[όν], ὅτι φοβηθεῖς’  
ἐνθάδε

κα]ταπέφενγ’ αὐ[τ]η πρ[ὸς ἡμᾶς; πάννυ] γε. μὴ  
ῶρας σύ γε,”

(132) φή]σ’, “ἴκοι’, ἀλλ’ [ὡς τάχιστα νῦ]ν βάδιζε,  
παιδίον,  
ἐκ]ποδῶν [ἐνθὲνδ’.” Ἄπ]ολλ[ον], πάντ’ [ἀν]ήρ-  
παστ’ ἐκ μέσου.

οὐ σφό]δρ’ [ἦκ]ουσεν παρόντα σ’ ἡδέ[ως].

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

μαστιγία,

325 κατακέχρη]σαί μοι.

ΔΑΟΣ

γέλοιον. ἦ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ—

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

τί φής;

οὐ λαβεῖν ἐ]κοῦσαν αὐ[τ]ήν, ἦ τί πρᾶγμ’; οὐχ ἔνεκ’  
ἐμοῦ;

(137) εἶπας ὧ]ς πέπεικας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς μ’.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἐγὼ δ’ εἴρηκά σοι

319 Suppl. Sudhaus. *μηκετι* C with *δεν* written above *κετ* as correction.

320 *ηκαισν* C: corr. several.

321 *αὐ[τ]η*

*πρ[ὸς ἡμᾶς]* suppl. Housman, Sudhaus, [*πάννυ*] Housman.

*ωρασσυγε* C perhaps correctly, but Schwartz’s conjecture *ῶρασί*

PERIKEIROMENE

You were here, she answered "None of that—[how]’s he  
 found out? Or are  
 You the blabbermouth who’s told him that she’s taken 320  
 refuge here  
 [With us] now in fear and trembling. Yes, [that’s it]—be  
 damned to you!"  
 [So she said], "And [now], my boy, move off [from here]  
 out of my way  
 [At top speed!]" Ap’ollo, everything’s been snatched  
 right from our grasp!  
 She was[n’t over]joyed to hear that you were on the  
 scene.

MOSCHION

Blackguard!  
 You’ve [destroyed] me!

DAOS

That’s absurd. Your mother though . . .

MOSCHION

(*interrupting*)

What’s that you say? 325  
 [Didn’t take] her in by choice? Or why then? Not  
 on my behalf?  
 [You said] you persuaded her to come to my house!

DAOS

Have I said

---

γε is also possible, cf. *ZPE*, 109 (1995), 17 f. 322 φή]σ’  
 suppl. Headlam, Wilamowitz, the rest Körte. 323 ἐκ]ποδῶν  
 suppl. Lefebvre, [ἀν]ήρπαστ’ Körte, the rest *exempli gratia*  
 Arnott. 324 Suppl. Sudhaus. 325 Suppl. Robert. 326 οὐ  
 λαβεῖν] suppl. Arnott, the rest Lefebvre. 327 Suppl.  
 van Leeuwen.

MENANDER

ὥς πέπει]κ' ἐλθεῖν ἐκείνην; μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ἄ γὼ μὲν  
οὐ.

..... ψε]ῦδό[ς <με>, τρ]όφ[ι]με, σοῦ καταψεύ-  
δεσθ' [

330 ..... οὐ τήν] μ[ητέρ' αὐτὸ]ς ταῦτα συμπε[π]ε[ικ]έ-  
ναι

ἀρτίως ἔφησθα ταύτην ἐνθάδ' ὑποδέξασθ' ἐμοῦ

(142) ἔνεκα;

ΔΑΟΣ

τοῦθ', ὁρᾷς, ἔφην· ναί, μνημονεύω.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

καὶ δοκεῖν

ἔνεκ' ἐμοῦ σοι τ[ο]ῦτο πράττειν;

ΔΑΟΣ

οὐκ ἔχω τουτὶ φράσαι,

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ἔπειθον.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

εἰέν· δεῦρο δὴ βάδιζε.

ΔΑΟΣ

ποῖ;

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

335 μ[ὴ] μακράν· εἴσει.

328 Suppl. Körte.

329 <με> add. Arnott deleting *μον* before *σοῦ*, the rest suppl. and corr. Sudhaus: ]*μεμονουσουκαταψευδεσθ'* with *μουσον* corrected from *μεπολυ* C.

330 Suppl. Sudhaus. 331 C wrongly gives this line to Daos (δα' in right margin).

335 μ[ὴ] suppl. Körte, *μακράν* deciph. Körte, Jensen (in C *μικρον* corrected to *μακραν*). Assignment of parts



PERIKEIROMENE

[I persuaded] her to come here? By Apollo I did not—  
[You're accusing me] of telling lies about you, master,  
[now].

MOSCHION

[        ]<sup>a</sup> Did[n't] you just now allege that you [yourself]        330  
had helped

To persuade [my mother] to allow the girl to stay with us  
All for *my* sake?

DAOS

(*edging away from Moschion*)

Look, I said that. Yes, I do remember.

MOSCHION

And

That you thought she did this all for me?

DAOS

I can't say that, but I

Did try to persuade her.

MOSCHION

Well then, you come over here.

DAOS

Where to?

MOSCHION

No long distance—you'll find out!

<sup>a</sup> The beginning of this line, which could have been spoken by either Moschion or Daos, has been torn off the papyrus and so far no plausible supplement has been suggested.

---

first indicated by van Leeuwen (C has paragraphus under 335, dicolon after *εἰσεῖ* 335 but not after *ποῖ* 334); see J. C. B. Lowe, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 20 (1973), 100–102.

MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

τὸ δεῖνα, Μοσχίων· ἐγὼ τότε—  
μ[ικ]ρ[ὸ]ν ἔτι μείνον.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

φλυαρεῖς πρὸς με.

ΔΑΟΣ

- μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,  
(147) οὐ[κ ἔγ]ωγ', ἐὰν ἀκούσης. τυχὸν ἴσως οὐ βούλεται,  
μ[ανθ]ά[ν]εις, ἐξ [ἐ]πιδρομῆς ταυῦθ', ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ'  
ἀξιοῖ,  
π[ρὶν τάδ'] εἰδέναι σ', ἀκοῦσαι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ γε, νῆ  
Δία.  
340 οὐ [γὰρ ὡς αὐ]λ[ητρ]ῖς οὐδ' ὡς πορνίδιον τρις-  
άθλιον  
ἦλθε].

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

[νῦν δοκ]εῖς λέγειν μοι, Δᾶέ, τι πάλιν.

ΔΑΟΣ

- δοκί[μασον·  
(152) οἷσθας] οἷ[όν ἐ]στιν, οἶμαι. καταλέλοιπεν οἰκίαν,  
οὐ φλυαρ[ία γ'], ἐραστήν. εἰ σὺν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας  
ἡμ]έρας βο[ύ]λει, προσέξει σοί τις· ἀνεκοινοῦτό μοι

336 Suppl. Jensen. 337 Suppl. Körte. 338 Suppl. Sudhaus.  
339 Suppl. Wilamowitz. 340 Suppl. Sudhaus. 341 Up to  
δοκ]εῖς suppl. Sudhaus, δοκί[μασον] Leo. 342 Suppl. Wila-  
mowitz. 343 Suppl. Schwartz. 344 ἡμ]έρας suppl. Leo,  
Sudhaus, βο[ύ]λει Körte.

# PERIKEIROMENE

DAOS

It's like this, Moschion, then I— 335

(*Moschion approaches Daos threateningly*)

Wait a little longer . . .

MOSCHION

You are talking nonsense!

DAOS

No, I'm not,

By Asclepius, if you'll just attend! Maybe she doesn't  
want

This event—you [understand]—to be a blitz, a  
shambles—no,

She requires to hear your story, yes, [before] you learn  
[the facts].

She's no [call-girl],<sup>a</sup> no pathetic prostitute [who's come,  
you see]! 340

MOSCHION

Daos, [now] I [think] you're talking sense again.

DAOS

Just test me out!

[You know] what it's like, I fancy. She has given up a  
house—

I'm not kidding—and a lover. If you want a three or  
four

Days' encounter, somebody will dance attendance.<sup>b</sup>

She conveyed

<sup>a</sup> Literally 'female piper', but these professional musicians (like Habrotonon in *Epitrepontes*) were expected additionally to provide sexual favours at the parties for which they were hired.

<sup>b</sup> Daos is in fact lying when he coyly implies that Glykera is ready to have a short affair with Moschion.

MENANDER

345 το]ῦτ'· ἀκούσαι γάρ σ[ε δ]εῖ νῦν.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ποῦ σε δῆσας κατα[λίπω,  
Δ]ᾶε; περιπατεῖν [πο]εῖς με περίπ[α]τον π[ο]λύν  
τινα.

(157) ἀρτίως μὲν οὐ[ν] ἔπε]ιθες, [νῦ]ν δὲ λελά[λη]κας  
πάλιν.

ΔΑΟΣ

οὐκ ἔᾶς φρονεῖν [μ' ἀ]θορύβ[ως. πα]ρ[α]βαλοῦ  
τρόπον τινα  
κοσμίως τ' εἴσω πάρ[ε]λθε.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

σ[ὺ δ' ἀποδ]ράσει;

ΔΑΟΣ

καὶ μάλα·

350 ἐφόδι' οὐχ ὀρᾶς μ' ἔχοντα;

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

π[άνν γε· πά]ραγε, παι[δίον.

ΔΑΟΣ

εἰσιὼν δὲ κᾶ[ν] τι τούτων συνδιορθώσαις.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ἐκ[ών·

(162) ὁμολογῶ νικᾶν σε.

345 το]ῦτ' suppl. Lefebvre, the rest Leo. 346 Δ]ᾶε suppl.  
Sudhaus, [πο]εῖς Leo. 347 οὐ[ν] and λελά[λη]κας suppl.  
Körte, ἔπε]ιθες Arnott, [νῦ]ν Sudhaus. 348 [μ' ἀ]θορύβ[ως  
suppl. Sudhaus, πα]ρ[α]βαλοῦ Post. 349 Suppl. Körte.  
350 Suppl. Sudhaus. C has no dicolon after ἔχοντα nor para-

PERIKEIROMENE

That to me. Now you must be informed.

MOSCHION

(pretending to threaten Daos)

Where can I [leave] you, tied 345  
Up securely, Daos? You've given me a lengthy runaround!  
Just before you [were convincing, now] you're blathering  
again!

DAOS

You won't let [me] think in peace and quiet! Bring your  
ship to port,  
Something like—behave when you go in!

MOSCHION

(jokingly)

And you'll [de]camp?

DAOS

(responding to Moschion's joke)

Oh yes —

Don't you see I've got provisions?

MOSCHION

(serious again)

[Quite]. But come [along], my boy. 350

DAOS

You go in—you might then make some progress in this.

MOSCHION

Happily:

I agree, you win.

(Moschion now goes off into Myrrhine's house.)

graphus under the line.

351 εἰσιὼν δὲ καὶ [ν] Sudhaus:  
δ'εἰσιωνκα[ C. ἐκ[ὼν suppl. Jensen.



# MENANDER

## ΔΑΟΣ

μικροῦ γ', Ἡράκλεις, καὶ νῦ[ν δέει  
αὐός εἰμ'. οὐκ [ἔ]στι γὰρ ταῦθ', ὥς τότ' ὤμην,  
εὐκρι[νῇ].

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

355 πάλιν πέπομφε τὴν χλαμύδα φέροντά με  
καὶ τὴν σπάθην, ἵν' ἴδω τί ποιεῖ καὶ λέγω  
(167) ἔλθών. ἀκαρὲς δέω δὲ φάσκειν καταλαβεῖν  
τὸν μοιχὸν [ἔ]νδον, ἵν' ἀναπηδήσας τρέχῃ,  
εἰ μή γε παν[τά]πασιν αὐτὸν ἡλέουν.  
360 κακοδαίμον' οὕτω δε[σπ]ότην οὐδ' ἐνύπνι[ον]  
ἰδὼν γὰρ οἶδ'. ὦ τῆς π[ικρᾶ]ς ἐπιδημίας.

## ΔΑΟΣ

(172) ὁ ξένος ἀφίκεται. χαλεπὰ ταῦτα παντελ[ῶς]  
τὰ πράγματ' ἐστί, νῇ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτο[νί].  
καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον οὐδέπω λογίζομαι,  
τὸν δεσπότην, [ᾗ]ν ἐξ ἀγροῦ θᾶττον π[άλιν]  
365 ἔλθῃ, ταραχὴν οἶαν ποήσῃ παραφ[ανείς].

352 Suppl. Schmidt.

353 Suppl. Wilamowitz.

356 ἀκαρὲς deciph. Jensen.

359 Suppl. Headlam.

360 Suppl. Croenert, Headlam.

362 τουτο[νί] Leo: ταυτο[ C.

364 Suppl. several.

365 Suppl. Leo.

<sup>a</sup> Polemon.

<sup>b</sup> Daos points to an altar or pillar of Apollo Agyieus set up by Myrrhine's front door. See the note on *Dyskolos* 659.

<sup>c</sup> Myrrhine's husband. See the introduction to this play.

## PERIKEIROMENE

DAOS

*(alone on stage)*

A close call! Heracles, I'm petrified  
Now [with fear], for the prognosis isn't as good as I once  
thought!

*(Sosias now enters, probably by the side-entrance on the spectators' right: see the comment after 172. He is carrying Polemon's sword and military cloak. As yet he fails to notice Daos.)*

SOSIAS

He's sent me back again with cloak and sword,  
To see what she is doing, then to go and tell 355  
Him. I'm well-nigh inclined to claim I found  
The fancy man indoors, to get him to jump up  
And rush here—yet I pity him with all my heart!  
I'm sure I've never seen or even dreamed  
Of master being so wretched. What a [bitter] home- 360  
Coming!

*(Exit Sosias into Polemon's house.)*

DAOS

The mercenary's<sup>a</sup> arrived! These problems are  
Extremely difficult, by Apollo here.<sup>b</sup>  
And I've not yet considered the main point—  
If master<sup>c</sup> comes [back] from the farm too soon,  
What chaos his appearance will create! 365

*(Sosias now emerges from Polemon's house, shouting to slaves inside. One of these was Doris, who probably followed Sosias to the open door and stayed there visible to the audience as a silent observer of the following exchange.)*

# MENANDER

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- (177) ὑμεῖς δ' ἀφήκαθ', ἱερόσυλα θηρία,  
ἀφή]κατ' ἔξω τῆς θύρ[α]ς;

## ΔΑΟΣ

[ἀ]νασ[τρέ]φ[ει  
ἄνθ]ρωπος ὀργιζόμε[εν]ος· [ὑπα]πο[στή]σομαι.

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- 370 ἡ δ' οἶχεθ' ὥς τὸν γείτον' εὐθύς δηλαδὴ  
τὸν μοιχόν, οἰμώζειν φράσας' ἡμῖν μακρὰ  
καὶ μεγάλα.

## ΔΑΟΣ

- (182) μάντιν ὁ στρατιώτης [πε]ρι[άγει  
τοῦτον· ἐπιτυγχάνει τι.

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

κόψω τὴν θύραν.

## ΔΑΟΣ

ἄνθρωπε κακόδαιμον, τί βο[ύ]λεις; ποῖ φέ[ρ]εις;

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

ἐντεῦθεν εἶ;

## ΔΑΟΣ

τυχόν. ἀλλὰ τί [π]ολυπρα[γμ]ο[νεῖς];

367 ἀφή]κατ' suppl. van Leeuwen, [ἀ]νασ[τρέ]φ[ει] Sudhaus.  
368 ἄνθ]ρωπος and [ὑπα]πο[στή]σομαι suppl. Sudhaus, ὀργι-  
ζόμε[εν]ος deciph. and suppl. Wilamowitz. 371 Suppl.  
Sudhaus. 373 Deciph. and suppl. Jensen. 374 Suppl.  
Jensen.

PERIKEIROMENE

SOSIAS

You've let her go, you wicked brutes? You've let  
Her go outside?

DAOS

*(still unseen by Sosias)*

That fellow[ 's here] again,  
In a foul temper! [I'll step] back.  
*(Daos moves further into the background.)*

SOSIAS

And like  
A shot she's moved in with her fancy man  
Next door, that's plain, telling us loud and long  
To go to hell!

370

DAOS

*(aside)*

That solder[ 's got] him [on his staff]  
As a clairvoyant—he's hit the target!

SOSIAS

*(moving to Myrrhine's door)*

I'll knock on

The door.

*(At this point Daos comes forward and intercepts  
Sosias.)*

DAOS

You wretch, what do you want? Where are  
You going?

SOSIAS

Are you from there?

DAOS

Perhaps. But why are [you]  
Intruding?

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- 375 ἀπονευρόσθε, πρὸς θεῶν; [ἐλ]ευθέραν  
(187) ἔχειν γυναικα πρὸς β[ία]ν τοῦ κυρί[ου]  
τολμᾶτε κατακλείσαντες;

ΔΑΟΣ

ὥς πο[νηρὸς εἶ  
καὶ συκοφάντης, ὃς το[ιαῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνεις.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- 380 πότερα νομίζετ' οὐκ ἔχειν ἡ[μᾶς χολήν]  
οὐδ' ἄνδρας εἶναι;

ΔΑΟΣ

- (192) ναὶ μὰ Δία<sup>1</sup>, τε[τρῶ]βό[λους].  
ὅταν δὲ τετραδραχμος τοιούτ[ους ἀνα]λάβ[ῃ],  
ἡ ῥαδίως μαχούμεθ' ὑμῖν.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

Ἡ[ράκλ]ει[ς],  
πράγματος [ἀ]σελγοῦ[ς· ὁ]μολ[ο]γεῖτε δ', εἰπέ  
μ[οι],  
ἔχειν; πρόσ]ελθ', ἄνθρ[ω]φ' [ὁ π]αριών· οἷχετ[αι

375 Deciph. and suppl. Wilamowitz. 376 β[ία]ν suppl.  
Körte, κυρί[ου] Leo, Wilamowitz. 377, 378 Suppl. Jensen.  
379 ἡ[μᾶς] suppl. Körte, χολήν Wilamowitz. 380 Suppl. Sud-  
haus. 381 τετραδραχμοῖς with ι scored out C. τοιούτ[ους]  
suppl. Schmidt, ἀνα]λάβ[ῃ] Arnott. 382 Suppl. Jensen.  
383 [ἀ]σελγοῦ[ς] deciph. and suppl. Jensen, the rest Sudhaus.  
384 ἔχειν and οἷχετ[αι] suppl. Sudhaus, πρόσ]ελθ' Koenen,  
ἄνθρ[ω]φ' [ὁ π]αριών Rea (ἄνθρ[ω]π' already Sudhaus).



PERIKEIROMENE

SOSIAS

Heavens, are you insane? You dare  
To hold a girl who's free behind locked doors, against  
Her guardian's<sup>a</sup> [will]?

375

DAOS

What a [scoundrel you are],  
And filthy liar, with [assumptions of that sort]!

SOSIAS

Do you think [we]'re not [hot-blooded], or  
Real men?

DAOS

By Zeus, yes—worth [four]pence a day.<sup>b</sup>  
And when a tinpot<sup>c</sup> officer leads men like that,  
We'll fight you without trouble!

380

SOSIAS

[Heracles], what an  
Outrageous business! Tell me though, do you admit  
You've got her?

*(Sosias now addresses an unidentified free man who  
either walks across the stage at this point as a mute or is  
imagined to pass nearby.)*

<sup>a</sup> Under Athenian law a free woman had no legal independence; before marriage she was under the control of her nearest relative (her father if still alive), after marriage under that of her husband. Sosias here, perhaps improperly, assigns the rights of an Athenian husband to Glykera's Corinthian lover.

<sup>b</sup> Literally 4 obols ( $\frac{2}{3}$  of a drachma), apparently the lowest rate of daily pay for a mercenary at that time.

<sup>c</sup> Literally one who was paid 4 drachmas a day, implying that Polemon was an officer of the lowest rank.

MENANDER

385 φυ[γὼ]ν ὃς ἦλ[θ]ε μάρτυ[ς. ὁμ]ολογεῖτ' ἔχειν;

ΔΑΟΣ

οὐκ [ἔχομεν.]

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- (197) ὑμῶν [στένον]τας. πρὸς τίν' οἶεσθ', εἰπέ μοι,  
παίξεις; [τίς] ὁ λῆρος; κατὰ κράτος τὸ δυστυχὲς  
οἰκίδιον τ[ο]ῦτ' αὐτίκ' ἐξαιρ[ήσ]ομεν.  
390 ὅπλιζε τὸν μοιχόν.

ΔΑΟΣ

πονηρόν, ἄθλιε.

ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν οὖσαν ἐπι[μ]ένεις πάλαι.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- (202) οἱ παῖδες οἱ τὰ πελτί' οὔτοι πρὶν πτύσαι  
διαρπάσσονται πάντα, καὶν τετρωβόλους  
καλῆς.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἔπαιζον· σκατοφάγ[ο]ς γὰρ εἶ.

385 φυ[γὼ]ν ὃς ἦλ[θ]ε deciph. and suppl. Koenen, μάρτυ[ς] Jensen. 386 ἔχομεν suppl. Jensen, [ἀλλ' ἔ]στ' ἔν[δον] Arnott, ὅψ[ο]μαι deciph. and suppl. Lefebvre. 387 Suppl. van Leeuwen. 388 Suppl. Leo. 391 Suppl. Körte. 392 οὔτοι deciph. Guéraud.

<sup>a</sup> Such an appeal for a passer-by to act as witness of an illegal act (as alleged in 376 f.) was a common practice in Athenian law;

PERIKEIROMENE

You sir, you who're passing! A  
 Witness<sup>a</sup>—he's come and rushed away!  
 (*He turns to address Daos again.*)

Do you admit you've got 385

Her?

DAOS

No, [we haven't.]

SOSIAS

[But] she's in there! I'll see that some  
 Of you'll [be sorry]! Tell me, who do you think  
 You're playing with? [What]'s this foolery? We'll take  
 This wretched shack by storm in a few seconds!  
 So arm the fancy man!

DAOS

A bad case, you

390

Poor fellow! You've been here so long, believing  
 She's in our house.

SOSIAS

These young commandos<sup>b</sup> will  
 Smash everything before you can spit, even though  
 You call them fourpenny men.

DAOS

That was a joke. You are

A shit!

see J. R. Rea, *ZPE*, 16 (1975), 128 f. On the staging here see  
 K. B. Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (Oxford 1988), 94.

<sup>b</sup> Literally 'light-shield boys', i.e. peltasts, the best contemporary soldiers, who were armed with light shields, a sword and either two javelins or the long pike with a heavy point and metal foot which is mentioned in 396.

395 οἰκοῦντες—

ΔΑΟΣ

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχομε[ν].

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

[α]ἰ[β]οῖ, λήψομαι

σάρισαν.

ΔΑΟΣ

(207) ἅπαγ' ἐς κόρακας· [ώ]ς εἴσειμ' ἐγώ,  
ἕως ἔοικας α[ὕθεκάσ]τω.

ΔΩΡΙΣ<sup>ι</sup>

Σωσία.

ΔΑΟΣ

σὺ] μὲν εἶ πρό[σει μ]οι, Δωρί, μέγα τί σοι κακὸν  
δ]ώσω· σὺ τ[ού]των γέγονας α[ἰ]τιωτάτη.

ΔΩΡΙΣ

400 οὔ]τως ὄναιο, λέγ' ὅτι πρὸς γυναικά ποι  
δεί]σασα κατ[α]πέφενγε.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

πρὸς γυναικά ποι

(212) δει]σασα;

ΔΩΡΙΣ

καὶ γὰρ οἶχεθ' ὥς τὴν Μυρρίν[η]ν,

395 [α]ἰ[β]οῖ suppl. Sudhaus. 396 [ώ]ς suppl. Körte, Wilamowitz. 397 Suppl. Jensen. 398 Suppl. Sudhaus. 399 δ]ώσω

# PERIKEIROMENE

SOSIAS

So civilised!

DAOS

We haven't got

395

Her!

SOSIAS

Huh! I'll get a pike.

DAOS

You go to hell! You are

Behaving like [a lout]. I'm off in.

*(Exit Daos into Myrrhine's house. Doris now either enters from Polemon's house or more probably comes forward from the doorway where she has been standing since 365.)*

DORIS

Sosias!

SOSIAS

If you come near me, Doris, I'll give you  
What for! You've been responsible for this!

DORIS

Bless you, tell him she's run off [in a fright]  
To a lady somewhere.

400

SOSIAS

[In a fright], to a lady

Somewhere?

DORIS

In fact—so may my dreams come true! —

---

suppl. von Arnim, Körte. 400, 401 Suppl. Housman. 402  
δεί]σασα suppl. several. Μυρρίν[η]ν Lefebvre: μυρρην[.]ν C.



τῇν] γείτον', οὕτω μο[ι] γένοιθ' ἂ βούλομαι.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

ὀρᾶ]ς ἵν' οἴχθ'; οὐ τὸ μέλημ' ἐστ', ἐνθά[δ]ε.

ΔΩΡΙΣ

405 οὐ]δέ[ν] π]οεῖ [ν]ῦν [ῶ]ν σύ βούλει, Σ[ωσία.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

406 ἄπ[αγ]ε σε[αυτῇ]ν, ἀ[πα]γ', [ἐπεὶ ψ]ευδῆ λ[έγεις

(After 406 one leaf of the Cairo papyrus is missing; this would have contained between 66 and 74 lines of text, most probably 68 or 69, as well as the normal indication for a choral intermission between acts II and III. *P.Oxy.* 2830 preserves the final letters of three unplaced lines in that gap: ]οπως, ].ν:, ].σ.

The final 13 of the lines lost in the Cairo papyrus, however, are preserved at the beginning of the Leipzig parchment (L), which overlaps the next extant leaf of that papyrus. Hence the lacuna between 406 and 467 can be computed more accurately as between 53 and 61 lines, most probably 55 or 56.)

ΜΕΡΟΣ Γ'

(The opening lines of the act are lost.)

404 ὀρᾶ]ς suppl. Sudhaus. 405 οὐ]δέ[ν] π]οεῖ suppl. Sandbach, [ν]ῦν [ῶ]ν Sudhaus, Σ[ωσία Jensen. 406 [ἐπεὶ] suppl. Sudhaus, ψ]ευδῆ Jensen, λ[έγεις Sandbach.

## PERIKEIROMENE

She's gone to Myrrhine, who lives next door.

SOSIAS

(*pointing to Myrrhine's door*)

You [notice] where she's gone—there, where her darling  
Lives!

DORIS

Sosias, she's doing none of what you have  
In mind!

405

SOSIAS

Away with you, away! [You're telling] lies . . .

(*At 406 Sòsias and Doris are still arguing; it is unlikely that their quarrel went on much longer—perhaps 20 to 30 verses—or that it was resolved satisfactorily. At its close Sosias would have departed by the left parodos in order to tell Polemon about Glykera's move into Myrrhine's house and possibly also to suggest that Polemon and he should return immediately with an 'army' intended to bring Glykera back into Polemon's house by force. Doris would either have re-entered Polemon's house or more probably have gone off to seek help from Pataikos, who had already befriended Glykera (see 508 f.). Then would have come the choral entr'acte.*)

(*An Oxyrhynchus papyrus seems to preserve the word how as the last word of a line in the lacuna between lines 406 and 467.*)

## ACT III

(*In the lost opening lines of Act III—perhaps 26 to 36 verses—Polemon and Sosias would have entered with*

# MENANDER

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

- 467 ἐκ]εἶθεν ἥκει χρήματ' εἰληφώς, ἐμοὶ  
(218) πίστευε· προδίδωσίν σε καὶ τὸ στρατ[ό]πεδον.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- κάθευδ' ἀπελθών, ὦ μακάριε, τὰς μά[χ]ας  
470 τ]αύτας ἐάσας· [οὐ]χ ὑγιαίνεις. σοὶ λαλῶ·  
ἦττον μεθύεις γὰ[ρ].

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

- ἦττον; ὃς πέπωκ' ἴσως  
(222) κοτύλην, προειδὼς πάντα ταῦθ' ὁ δυστυχήης  
τηρῶν τ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ<sup>4</sup>

εὖ λέγεις·

πείσθητί μοι.

467–527 preserved in L (467–479 lost in C). 467–474 Suppl. Körte. 471 *ως* corr. to *ος* L. 473–492 O preserves the beginnings of these lines.

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<sup>a</sup> 'He' clearly = Pataikos, and 'from there' probably = from Myrrhine's house. In the previous scene, however, Sosias' allegations are sometimes wild and unreliable (e.g. 392–394, 399), and we cannot infer from his words here that Pataikos has now entered from Myrrhine's house, only that he appears to have been on good terms with Myrrhine and her family as well as with Polemon and Glykera.

PERIKEIROMENE

*their 'army', consisting in all probability of no more than a couple more male slaves, the female piper Habrotonon, all of them mutes and presumably belonging or invited to the household where Polemon had been staying after he had cut off Glykera's hair; a possibility that a hired cook with his pig was in the party is discussed below in the note on 995 f. When the text resumes at 467 Pataikos is on stage with them, attempting to persuade this ragtag army to substitute reasoned argument for drunken violence. We do not know why Pataikos intervened at this stage. He may have entered with the 'army' at the beginning of the act, or come on later in answer to a summons from Doris.)*

SOSIAS

*(to Polemon)*

He's come from there; believe me, he's been bribed!<sup>a</sup> 467  
He'll be a traitor to the army and yourself.

PATAIKOS

*(to Sosias)*

My friend, you'd better leave, and drop these raids.  
Go and lie down. You're mad.  
*(turning now to Polemon)*

I'm talking to 470

You—you're less drunk!

POLEMON

Less? Half a pint or so

Is all I've drunk! Oh dear, I knew all this  
Would happen. I was keeping tabs upon  
Myself, in case.

PATAIKOS

Good. Follow my advice.

# MENANDER

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ κελεύεις ἐμοί;

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

475 ὀρθῶς μ' ἐρωτᾷς· νῦν ἐγὼ δὴ τᾶλλ' ἐρῶ.

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

Ἀβρότονον, ἐπισήμενον.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

εἴσω τουτονὶ

(227) πρῶτον ἀπόπεμψον τοὺς τε παῖδας οὓς ἄγει.

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

κακῶς γε πολεμεῖς· τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσεται,  
ἐξὸν λαβεῖν κατὰ κράτος.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

οὔτοσί με γὰρ

480 ὁ Πάταικος ἐξόλλυσιν.

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

οὐκ ἔσθ' ἡγεμών.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθ'.

476 Kock fr. 1011

475 μ' om. L, νῦν om. O. τᾶλλ' deciph. Gomme. 476 Paragraphus in L, om. O. 478 Paragraphus wrongly inserted by O. γεπολεμεῖς O, γε{ι}πολεμεῖς above the line L<sup>2</sup>: διοικεῖς L<sup>1</sup>. διαλυσεται L<sup>1</sup>: -λυεται L<sup>2</sup>, -λυετε L<sup>3</sup>. 479 Paragraphus in L, om. O. ἐξον O: δεον L, deciph. D. Müller. 479–481 Attribution and division of parts uncertain. 480 Here C resumes. ο[.]αταικος L: παταικος without article O, . . . .]κος C. 481–486 Line openings torn off in C, endings often torn or illegible in L.



PERIKEIROMENE

POLEMON

What will you have me do?

PATAIKOS

Good question. I'll

475

Say now what still needs saying —

SOSIAS

(interrupting)

Sound the attack,

Habrotonon.

PATAIKOS

(addressing Polemon, and attempting to stop Habrotonon as she prepares to play her pipes in obedience to this command.)

Get rid of him indoors

First, and the crew he's brought.

SOSIAS

You're wrecking our

Campaign. He'll end the war, when we could force

A capture!

POLEMON

Yes, because Pataikos here

480

Is sabotaging —

SOSIAS

(interrupting)

He's not our commander!<sup>a</sup>

PATAIKOS

In gods' name, man, be off!

<sup>a</sup> Division and assignment of parts here are uncertain.

# MENANDER

## ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

ἀπέρχομαι.

- (232) ὥμην σε ποιήσῃν τι. καὶ γάρ, Ἀβρότονον,  
 ἔχεις τι πρὸς πολιορκίαν σὺν χρήσιμον,  
 δύνασαί τ' ἀναβαίνειν, περικαθῆσθαι. ποῖ στρέφει,  
 485 λαικάστρι'; ἡσχύνθης; μέλει τούτων τί σοι;

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- εἰ μὲν τι τοιοῦτ' ἦν, Πολέμων, οἶόν φατε  
 (237) ὑμεῖς τὸ γεγονός, καὶ γαμετὴν γυναικά σου—

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

οἶον λέγεις, Πάταικε.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

διαφέρει δέ τι.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

ἐγὼ γαμετὴν νενόμικα ταύτην.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

μὴ βόα.

- 490 τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ δοῦς;

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

ἐμοὶ τίς; αὐτή.

486 τι om. O. πολεμων L: ωπολεμων C. 488 L omits paragraphus. 490 δ' om. CL.

<sup>a</sup> Jokes involving a sexual *double entendre* are rare in Menander: see the Gomme-Sandbach commentary *ad loc.* Here ἀναβαίνειν combines the meanings 'to climb (a wall)' and 'to mount (a sexual partner)', περικαθῆσθαι 'to besiege' and 'to embrace'.

PERIKEIROMENE

SOSIAS

I'm off.

(*Sosias now turns first to address Polemon, then Habrotonon.*)

I thought

You'd manage something. Look, Habrotonon —  
You're handy in blockades—can climb erections,  
And squeeze . . .<sup>a</sup> You tart, where are you going?

485

Embarrassed?

Something I've said offends you?

(*At this Habrotonon flounces off into Polemon's house, followed by Sosias and the other slaves, leaving Polemon and Pataikos alone on stage together.*)

PATAIKOS

If the event

At all resembled your description, Polemon,  
With her being married to you —

POLEMON

What a thing

To say, Pataikos!

PATAIKOS

It's important.

POLEMON

(*angrily*)

I've

Treated her as my wife.

PATAIKOS

Don't shout. Who gave

490

Her?

POLEMON

Who? To me? *She* did, herself.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

(242) ἀπελήλυθε[ν δ'] οὐ κατὰ τρόπον σοῦ χρωμένον  
αὐτῇ.

τί φῆς; οὐ κατὰ τρόπον; τουτί με τῶν  
πάντων λελύπηκας μάλιστ' εἰπών.

495 τοῦτ' οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς, ὥσθ' ὃ μὲν νυνὶ ποεῖς  
ἀπόπληκτόν ἐστιν. ποῖ φέρει γάρ; ἢ τίνα  
(247) ἄξων; ἐαυτῆς ἐστ' ἐκείνη κυρία.  
λοιπὸν τὸ πείθειν τῷ κακῶς διακειμένῳ  
ἐρῶντί τ' ἐστίν.

500 ἀπόντος αὐτὴν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ μ’;

(252) ἀδικεῖ σ' ἐκεῖνος, ἄν ποτ' ἔλθῃς εἰς λόγους.  
εἰ δ' ἐκβιάσῃ, δίκην δ' ὀφλήσεις· οὐκ ἔχει  
τιμωρίαν γὰρ τὰδίκημ', ἔγκλημα δέ.

426

PERIKEIROMENE

PATAIKOS

All right. Perhaps

She liked you—now she doesn't any more.  
She's left because you've treated her so badly!

POLEMON

What's that? So badly? With those words you've hurt  
Me most of all.

PATAIKOS

You are in love, of that

495

I'm certain, so your present conduct's crazy.

*(Here Polemon turns away and makes for Myrrhine's  
house, where Glykera has taken refuge.)*

Where *are* you going? Who for? She's her own mistress!  
Unhappy men in love have only got  
One remedy—persuasion.

POLEMON

Her seducer in

My absence, though—he's wronged me, hasn't he?

500

PATAIKOS

He's wronged you, so lodge a complaint, if you  
Can meet and talk. Use force, though, and you'll lose  
Your case! This wrong doesn't call for a reprisal,  
But a complaint.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Such a 'complaint' could involve a private law-suit (see A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: Procedure* (Oxford 1971), 88), informal discussion with the alleged wrongdoer, or even private retaliation within the law (cf. the Gomme-Sandbach commentary *ad loc.*).



MENANDER

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

οὐδ' ἄρα νῦν;

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

οὐδ' ἄρα νῦν.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι

505 λέγω, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, πλὴν ἀπάγξομαι.  
 Γλυκέρα με καταλέλοιπε, καταλέλοιπέ με  
 (257) Γλυκέρα, Πάταικ'. ἀλλ' εἶπερ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ  
 πράττειν—συνήθης ἦσθα γὰρ καὶ πολλάκις  
 λελάληκας αὐτῇ πρότερον—ἐλθὼν διαλέγον,  
 510 πρέσβευσον, ἱκετεύω σε.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ,

ὁρᾶς, ποεῖν.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

δύνασαι δὲ δήπουθεν λέγειν,

(262) Πάταικε.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

μετρίως.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

ἀλλὰ μὴν, Πάταικε, δεῖ.

αὕτη 'στιν ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ πράγματος.  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ εἴ τι πώποτ' ἠδίκηχ' ὅλως,  
 515 εἰ μὴ διατελῶ πάντα φιλοτιμούμενος,  
 τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς εἰ θεωρήσαιοι—

# PERIKEIROMENE

POLEMON

Not even now?

PATAIKOS

Not even now.

POLEMON

I don't know, by Demeter, what to say, except 505  
 I'll choke! Pataikos, Glykera has left  
 Me, left me—Glykera! But if you settle  
 On action—you were friendly, in the past  
 You've often talked to her—well, go and talk  
 To her, be my ambassador, I beg 510  
 You!

PATAIKOS

That's a good idea, you know.

POLEMON

Of course you're good

With words, Pataikos.

PATAIKOS

Fairly.

POLEMON

It's so vital,

Pataikos. All success in this attempt  
 Depends on it! You see, if I have ever  
 At all wronged her . . . if I don't keep on trying 515  
 My best, in every way . . . if you could see her things . . .

---

510 δοκεῖς C with *s* crossed out. 515 L wrongly puts a  
 dicolon after φιλοτιμουμένος.

MENANDER

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

καλῶς

(267) ἔχει.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

θεώρησον, Πάταικε, πρὸς θεῶν  
μᾶλλον μ' ἐλεήσεις.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ὦ Πόσειδο[ν].

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

[δ]εὺρ' ἴθι.

520

ἐνδύμαθ' οἶ· οἷα δὲ φαίνεθ' ἡνίκ' ἂν  
λάβῃ τι τούτων. οὐ γὰρ ἐοράκεις ἴσως.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ἔγωγε.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

(272)

καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος δῆπουθεν ἦν  
ἄξιον ἰδεῖν. ἀλλὰ τί φέρω νῦν εἰς μέσον  
τὸ μέγεθος, ἐμβρόντητος, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων λαλῶν—

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

μὰ Δί', οὐδέν.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

525

οὐ γάρ; ἀλλὰ δεῖ, Πάταικέ, σε  
ἰδεῖν. βάδιζε δεῦρο.

518 ποσιδ[ C, ποσιδο[...]]εὺρ' ἴθι L: suppl. Körte. 520 ἐορά-  
κεις with ω written above ο L, ἐωρακεις C. 521 ἐγωγε: L,  
εγωσ: corrected to ἐγωγ: C. 523 λαλῶ L (= -ων): λαλω C

PERIKEIROMENE

PATAIKOS

No need for that!

POLEMON

Just look, Pataikos, *please* —  
You'll pity me the more!

PATAIKOS

In heaven's name!

POLEMON

(*walking towards his door*)

Do

Come here—such dresses! How she looks when she  
Slips one of these on! Perhaps you won't have seen . . . 520

PATAIKOS

I have.

POLEMON

Of course her height's remarkable—but why  
Should I now introduce her height? I'm crazy,  
Going on about irrelevances!

PATAIKOS

No,

Heavens, no!

POLEMON

No? Yet, Pataikos, you should see  
Them. Walk this way!

---

(see F. H. Sandbach, *ZPE*, 40 (1981), 51). 524 ματονδιουδεν-  
ουγαρ LC, then αλ[...]*ειγεσε* L, αλλαδειπαταικεσε C: corr.  
Sudhaus.

# MENANDER

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

πάραγ'· εἰσέρχομαι.

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- οὐκ εἰσφθερεῖσθε θάττον ὑμεῖς ἐκποδών;  
 (277) λόγχας ἔχοντες ἐκπεπηδήκασί μοι.  
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο δ' ἐξελεῖν νεοττιὰν  
 χελιδόνων· οἶοι γάρ εἰς' οἱ βάσκανοι.  
 530 ἀλλὰ ξένους, φήσ', εἶχον· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ ξένοι  
 οἱ περιβόητοι Σωσίας εἰς οὔτοσί.  
 (282) πολλῶν γεγονότων ἀθλίων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον  
 τὸν νῦν—φορὰ γὰρ γέγονε τούτου νῦν καλὴ  
 ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἑλλησι δι' ὅτι δὴ ποτε—  
 535 οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν τοσούτων ἄθλιον  
 ἄνθρωπον οὕτως ὥς ἐμαυτὸν ζῆν ἐγώ.  
 (287) ὥς γὰρ τάχιστ' εἰσῆλθον, οὐδὲν ὦν αἰὲ  
 εἴωθ' [ἐ]ποίου[ν], οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα  
 εἰσῆλθ[ο]ν, οὐ τῶν ἔνδον ἐκάλεσ' οὐδένα

533 Kock fr. 872

525 :παραγ: C, :παρα[... ]σερχομαι L with no space for dicolon in the gap. After 527 L ceases. 528 δ'ανέξελειν C: corr. several. 529 γαρεῖς' (rather than παρεῖς') C: see J. R. Rea, *ZPE*, 16 (1975), 131. 533–534 Philoponus' commentary on Arist. *Meteor.* p. 94 Hayduck quotes inaccurately with φορὰ γὰρ νῦν τούτου γέγονε καλή, δι' ὅτι δὴ ποτε.



# PERIKEIROMENE

PATAIKOS

Move on, I'm coming in.

525

(*Polemon and Pataikos go off into Polemon's house. Moschion now enters from Myrrhine's house and observes their departure. Although his opening remarks are ostensibly addressed to them, he probably waits until they are out of earshot before he opens his mouth.*)

MOSCHION

You get to hell in there! Out of my way,  
And hurry! Armed with pikes they were, and yet  
I've made them scuttle off. *They* couldn't wipe

A nest of swallows out—what pansies these  
Devils are! They'd got mercenaries, he<sup>a</sup> said—

530

These celebrated mercenaries amount  
To Sosias here<sup>b</sup> and no one else! Of all  
The many creatures born to misery

These days—of *that* there is a noble crop  
All over Greece now, from some cause or other<sup>c</sup>—

535

In my view, no one out of all that number  
Endures a life as miserable as mine.

You see, as soon as I went in, I didn't  
Do any of my usual things, I didn't

Go up to mother, or call one of the

540

<sup>a</sup> Daos presumably, who left the stage and departed into Myrrhine's house at 397, and there described to Moschion the attack on Myrrhine's house by Polemon's 'army' which he had witnessed.

<sup>b</sup> Here presumably the speaker points to Polemon's house; see J. R. Rea, *ZPE*, 16 (1975), 131, and K. B. Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (Oxford 1988), 96 n. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Compare vv. 124 f. and see the introduction to this play.

- 540 πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἔλθων ἐκποδὼν  
 ἐνταῦθα κ[α]τεκ[ε]ίμην συνεστηκῶς πάνν.  
 (292) τὸν Δᾶον εἰσπέμπω δὲ δηλώσονθ' ὅτι  
 ἦκω, τοσοῦτον αὐτό, πρὸς τὴν μητέρα.  
 οὗτος μὲν οὖν μικρόν τι φροντίσας ἐμοῦ  
 545 ἄριστον αὐτοῖς καταλαβὼν παρακείμενον  
 ἐγέμιζεν αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ  
 (297) κατακείμενος πρὸς ἑμαυτόν ἔλεγον· "αὐτίκα  
 πρόσεισιν ἢ μήτηρ <ἀπ>αγγελοῦσά μοι  
 παρὰ τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐφ' οἷς ἄν φησί μοι  
 550 εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν." αὐτὸς ἐμελέτων λόγον

(After line 550 four and a half pages of the Cairo papyrus have been lost, producing a gap in the text of between 153 and 172 lines, in which the third act ended and the fourth began.)

# ΜΕΡΟΣ Δ΄

(The opening of the act is lost.)

540 ἀλλ' εἰσοικοντιν' ἐλθων C: τιν' del. Lefebvre.

548 ἀγγελοῦσα C: corr. Croenert, Sudhaus.

<sup>a</sup> On this translation of συνεστηκῶς see M. Gronewald, *ZPE*, 107 (1995), 58.

# PERIKEIROMENE

House servants—no, I found a room away  
 From everyone, I lay there all on edge,<sup>a</sup>  
 And sent in Daos to my mother to  
 Say I was home, just that. But little heed  
 Paid he to me—on finding lunch out on  
 The tables for the family, he stuffed  
 Himself, and all this time I lay there, telling  
 Myself “Soon mother will be here to bring  
 A message from my love with her terms for  
 A rendezvous.” I practised what I’d say . . .

545

550

*(It is impossible to work out in detail what the following lacuna contained, but a few hints are provided by references in extant passages of the play. Moschion’s monologue must have gone on to explain why ‘no one . . . endures a life as miserable’ (537) as his. Either Glykera or (more probably) Myrrhine must have told Moschion that an affair with Glykera was out of the question, but we do not know how far the truth about Glykera and his parentage was then divulged as a reason to prevent it. When Moschion reappears at line 774 he now knows that Myrrhine was only his foster mother and that he and a previously unknown twin-sister were foundlings, and he suspects that Glykera may be that twin-sister, but it is uncertain what he has been told directly, and what he has worked out for himself.)*

## ACT IV

*(When the text resumes at line 708, Glykera is talking to Pataikos and defending herself from the charge that infatuation for Moschion led to her move from Polemon’s to Myrrhine’s house. She goes on to say that in Polemon’s house she has evidence about the identity of her true*

ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

(in mid-speech)

- 708                    πρὸς τὴν μ]ητέρ' αὐτοῦ, φί[λτ]ατε,  
(302)                    κα]ταφυγοῦσ' ἐδυνάμην, οὐ σκοπεῖς;  
710                    ἴν]α με λ[άβη] γυναικα; κατ' ἐμὲ γὰρ πάνν  
                         γέγ]ον' οὐ[τος]. ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦθ', ἐταίραν δ' ἵνα μ'  
                         ἔχῃ;  
(305)                    εἶτ' οὐ λαθεῖν τούτους ἂν ἔσπενδον, τάλαν,  
                         αὐτός [τ'] ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἱταμῶς εἰς ταῦτό με  
                         τῷ πατρὶ κατέστησ'; εἰλόμην δ' οὕτως ἐγ[ὼ  
715                    ἀφρόνως ἔχειν ἔχθραν τε πρᾶτ[τειν Μυρρίνη,  
                         ὑμῖν θ' ὑπόνοιαν καταλιπεῖν [ἀκοσμίας,  
(310)                    ἦν οὐκέτ' ἐξαλείψατ', οὐδ' αἰσχ[ύνομαι,  
                         Πάταικε; καὶ σὺ ταῦτα συμπεπ[εισμένος  
                         ἦλθες τ[ο]ιαύτην θ' ὑπέλαβές [με γεγονέναι;

708 πρὸς τὴν μ]ητέρ' suppl. Sudhaus, φί[λτ]ατε deciph. and  
suppl. Jensen. 709 Suppl. Leo. 710–711 Suppl. Sudhaus.  
τουτ' C. 713 Suppl. Leo. 715 πρᾶτ[τειν suppl. Wila-  
mowitz and Schmidt, Μυρρίνη Meister. 716 Suppl. Körte.  
717 εξαλειψαίτουκετ' C: εξαλείψετ' Gomme, transposition by  
Sandbach. αἰσχ[ύνομαι suppl. Leo. 718 Suppl. Sudhaus.  
719 Suppl. Körte.

# PERIKEIROMENE

parents (742–744). At this point Pataikos is unaware that he is Glykera's and Moschion's father. When he left the stage with Polemon at 525 he had agreed to enter the latter's house in order to see Glykera's wardrobe; he is likely to have emerged again, perhaps at or very near the end of the third act, having offered (or been persuaded by Polemon) to visit Myrrhine and/or Glykera and seek on Polemon's behalf a reconciliation. In that event Pataikos and Glykera could have entered from Myrrhine's house in mid-conversation at the beginning of the fourth act, an indeterminate number of lines before 708.)

## GLYKERA

(in mid-speech)

— [and what] could I [have done], my dear, 708

By running [to his] mother? Ask yourself—

Was it [to make him] marry me? His standing's just 710

Like mine, of course!<sup>a</sup> No. Was it, though, to make me

His mistress? Wouldn't I then have sought, along with  
him,

To hide it from his people? Would he recklessly

Have lodged me with his father<sup>b</sup>? Wouldn't this mean

I chose to be a fool, turn [Myrrhine] 715

Against me, plant in you suspicions [of]

[Misconduct] that you'll never drop? Nor [I]

Feel any shame, Pataikos? And you came

Believ[ing] this, assuming [I'm] like that?

<sup>a</sup> A subtle irony. Glykera sarcastically pretends that she, brought up in poverty (cf. 125 f.) and lately a soldier's concubine, has the same status as Moschion, raised in a wealthy household (122), but behind that pretence there is the reality of their being twins.

<sup>b</sup> She means Myrrhine's husband. See the introduction to the play.



# MENANDER

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

720 μὴ δὴ [γ]ένοιτ', ὦ Ζεῦ πολυ[τίμηθ'· ἃ δὲ λέγεις  
δείξαις ἀληθῶς ὄντ'· ἐγὼ [δὲ πείθομαι.

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

(315) ἀλλ' ἄπιθι μηδὲν ἦττον. [εἰς ἑτέραν τινὰ  
ὑβριζέτω τὸ λοιπόν.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

οὐχ [έκούσιον  
γέγ[ο]νε τὸ δεινόν.

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

725 ο[ , τά]λαν, θεράπαιναν [

(After line 725 there is a lacuna of most probably 15 to 18 verses, covering the top half of the other side of the sheet which contained 708–725. When the text returns, Glykera is still conversing with Pataikos.)

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

(in mid-speech?)

742 ἐγ[ὼ δ' ἐκέιν' ἐ]λάμβα[νον· γνωρίσματ' ἦν  
(320) τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μητρός. εἴ[θισμαι δ' ἔχουν  
ἀεὶ παρ' ἐμαυτῇ ταῦτα καὶ τηρ[εῖν.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

745 βούλει; τ]ί οὖν

720 πολυ[τίμητ' originally suppl. Lefebvre, ἃ δὲ λέγεις Schwartz. 721 δὲ suppl. Schwartz, πείθομαι Wilamowitz, Schwartz. 722–723 Suppl. Sudhaus. 724–725 Suppl. Sudhaus,

# PERIKEIROMENE

PATAIKOS

O [blessed] Zeus, not that! I'd like you to  
Prove [what you say] is true. I [do believe you.]

720

GLYKERA

Well, all the same, you must go back. Let him  
Assault [another girl] in future.

PATAIKOS

This

Outrage was not [deliberate].

724

*(The last fragment of text on this page is too broken to provide continuous sense. In replying to Pataikos' last remark Glykera uses the word wicked, probably with reference to the outrage, and in the next line she says something about a servant girl, poor me. Then there is a lacuna of probably 15 to 18 lines, during which Glykera passes from a defence of her recent behaviour to a discussion of her parentage.)*

GLYKERA

*(perhaps in mid-speech)*

[These] I received. [They were mementoes] of  
My father and mother. [I've] always kept  
Them by me [as a rule], looked after them.

742

PATAIKOS

So what do you want?

---

van Leeuwen. 742 ἐ[γὼ δ' ἐκεῖν' ἐ]λάβα[νον suppl. Körte  
(but ἐγὼ δ' ἐκεῖνα also Sudhaus). γνωρίσματ' ἦν suppl. Arnott  
(γνωρίσματα van Leeuwen). 743 Suppl. Sudhaus (δ' ἔχειν  
also Wilamowitz). 744 Suppl. Lefebvre.

# MENANDER

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

κομίσασθαι ταῦτ'.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

[ἀπέγν]ωκας σ[ὺ γὰρ  
κομιδῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον; τί βούλει;

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

φίλτατε,  
διὰ σοῦ γενέσθω τοῦτό μ[ο]ι.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

(325) τοῦτό <γε>· γελοῖον. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντων [ἐ]χρήν  
[π]ραχθ[ή]σεται  
ὁρᾶ]ν σ' —

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

ἐγῶδα τᾶμ' ἄρισθ'.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

οὕτως ἔχεις;  
750 τίς τῶν θ]εραπαινῶν οἶδε ταῦθ' ὅπου 'στί σοι;

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

ἡ Δωρί]ς οἶδε.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

καλεσάτω τὴν Δωρίδα  
ἔξω τι]ς. ἀλλ' ὅμως, Γλυκέρα, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,

745 Suppl. Capps. There is no paragraphus under this line in C. 746 [:]φιλτατε in C deciphered and supplemented by Guéraud. 747 [π]ραχθ[ή]σεται suppl. Eitrem, Richards. 748 <γε> add. Headlam, Leo, with punctuation after it by Arnott. 749 Suppl. Ellis, Headlam. 750 Suppl. Leo. 751-752 Suppl. Leo.

# PERIKEIROMENE

GLYKERA  
To fetch them.

PATAIKOS  
[Why,] have you 745  
Entirely broken with the fellow? What do you want?

GLYKERA  
My dear, please do this for me.

PATAIKOS  
It shall be  
Done. It's absurd—you should have [looked at] all  
The angles . . .

GLYKERA  
(interrupting)  
I know my own business best.

PATAIKOS  
That's how  
You feel? [Which] of [the] maids knows where these 750  
things  
Of yours are?

GLYKERA  
[Doris] knows.

PATAIKOS  
Call Doris [out],  
[Somebody].

*(The text here provides no clues to the stage action, but one possibility is that Pataikos himself eventually knocks on Polemon's door, and when it opens mimes a request for Doris to come out. Pataikos then returns to Glykera.)*

Still, in heaven's name, Glykera,

MENANDER

(330) πείσ]θητ' ἐφ' οἷς νυνὶ λόγοις ἐγὼ λέγω,  
] δός.

ΔΩΡΙΣ

ὦ κεκτημένη.

ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

755 τί ποτ' ἔστιν;]

ΔΩΡΙΣ

[ο]ῖον τὸ κακόν.

ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

ἔξένεγκέ μοι

τὴν κιστίδ'] ἔξω, Δωρί, τὴν τὰ ποικίλα  
ἔχουσαν· οἶσθα, ν]ῆ Δί'· ἥν δέδωκά σοι  
(335) τηρεῖν. τί κ]λαίεις, ἀθλία;

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

πέπονθά τι,

νῆ τὸν Δία τὸ]ν Σωτήρα, [θαυμαστὸν π]άνν.  
760 ] πρᾶγμ' οὐδέν. ἡκ[

(At line 760 the final portion of the play preserved in the Cairo papyrus comes to an end, but the two sides of the second sheet of the Leipzig parchment (L) contain a further 60 lines, beginning only between 5 and 7 verses after 760.)

753 πείσ]θητ' suppl. Rea. λόγοις Arnott (after Sudhaus, Capps): λογοσδ' C. 755 Suppl. Arnott (τί ἔστιν; already Jensen). 756 Suppl. Croiset. 757 ἔχουσαν suppl. Leo, the rest Croiset. 758 τηρεῖν suppl. van Leeuwen, τί κ]λαίεις Headlam. 759 νῆ τὸν Δία τ]ὸν suppl. Croiset, [θαυμαστὸν] Klaus, π]άνν several.



PERIKEIROMENE

Take [my advice, and] grant [him pardon] on  
The terms I now propose.

*(Doris now enters and makes for Glykera. She is upset.)*

DORIS

O mistress!

GLYKERA

[What's]

[The matter?]

DORIS

What a tragedy!

GLYKERA

Bring me

755

[The box] out, Doris, that [with] needlework inside —  
In heaven's name, [you know] — the one I gave  
You [to look after! Why] the tears, you wretch?

PATAIKOS

[By Zeus our] Saviour, it's a quite [amazing]  
Experience. Nothing['s impossible. I']ve come

760

*(In a short lacuna—no more than 7 lines—Doris' tears may or may not have been explained, but the box containing Glykera's recognition tokens was produced, either by Doris after fetching it from Polemon's house, or by Pataikos who had picked it up on his earlier visit with Polemon to view Glykera's wardrobe. In the latter event Doris' tears would have been caused by her discovery that the box was missing. Doris returned to Polemon's house before the text returns at 768, with Pataikos and Glykera examining one of the tokens, a child's embroidered garment.)*

# MENANDER

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

(in mid-speech)

- 768 ὄν] καὶ τότε εἶδον. οὐ παρ' αὐτὸν οὐτοσί  
(339) τ]ράγος τις ἢ βούς ἢ τοιοντὶ θηρ[ί]ον  
770 ἔ]στηκεν;

## ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

ἔλαφος, φίλτατ', ἐστίν, οὐ τράγος.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- κέρ]ατ' ἔχει, τοῦτ' οἶδα. καὶ τουτὶ τρίτον  
(342) πετ]εινὸς ἵππος. τῆς [γ]υναικὸς τῆς ἐμῆς  
ποικίλ]ματ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ μάλ' ἀθλίας.

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- οὐ τῶν] ἀδυνάτων ἐστί, τουτί μοι δοκεῖ  
775 σκοποῦν]τι, τὴν ἐμὴν τεκοῦσαν μητέρα  
ἄμ' ἐμοὶ προ]έσθαι θυγατέρ' αὐτῇ γενομένην.  
(347) εἰ δὲ γεγένητ]αι τοῦτ', ἀδελφὴ δ' ἔστ' ἐμή,  
πρόρριζος ἐξέ]φθαρμ' ὁ δυστυχὴς ἐγώ.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ὦ Ζε]ῦ, τίν' ἤδη τὰπίλοιπα τῶν ἐμῶν;

768–827 are preserved only in L; supplements and corrections not otherwise identified were made by the ed. pr., A. Körte. 768 ουτοσει L. 770 η with ου correction suprascript L. 771 Suppl. Wilamowitz, van Leeuwen. L wrongly has a dicolon after τουτι. 773 Suppl. Dedoussi. 775, 777 Suppl. Sudhaus. 776 ἄμ' ἐμοὶ suppl. Gomme, προ]έσθαι Körte. αὐτῇ Arnott: αυτη L. 778 Suppl. Arnott (or κάκιστά γ' ἐξ-). 779 Suppl. Sudhaus.

## PERIKEIROMENE

PATAIKOS

*(in mid-speech)*

[Which] I then saw.<sup>a</sup> And by its side—isn't that  
A goat or bull or some such animal?

768

GLYKERA

My dear, that is a stag, and not a goat.

770

PATAIKOS

It's got [horns], that I know! And here's a third—  
A horse with wings. These are my own poor wife's  
[Embroideries].

*(Enter Moschion from Myrrhine's house. He makes his opening speech before noticing the presence of Glykera and Pataikos. Then, after spotting them, he retires into the background and becomes an unobserved witness of their actions and listener to their words, which now ape the rhythms and diction of tragedy.)*

MOSCHION

On reflection, I don't feel

It is impossible that at my birth  
Along with me my mother then abandoned  
A daughter born to her too. But if that's  
What happened, and she is my sister, then  
My wretched life is totally destroyed!

775

PATAIKOS

[O Zeus], what shred now of my destiny awaits?

<sup>a</sup> Pataikos is referring to some article (the loss of the preceding context makes it impossible to identify it) which Pataikos had seen either when he inspected Glykera's clothes with Polemon just now, or when Glykera was exposed as a baby.

MENANDER

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

780 πέραι]ν' ὁ βούλει, τοῦτο πυνθάνου τ' ἐμοῦ.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

πόθεν] λαβοῦσα ταῦτα κέκτησθαι φράσον.

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

(352) ἐν τ]οῖσδ' ἀνηρέθην ποτ' οὔσα παιδίον.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ἐπ]άναγε σαυτὸν μικρόν· ὥς ῥόθ[ω] τ[ινὶ  
ἦ[κ]ω τύχης εἰς καιρὸν οἰκείας [ἐγώ.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

785 μόνη δ' ἔκεισο; τοῦτο γὰρ σήμ[α]ινέ μο[ι].

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

οὐ δῆτ'· ἀδελφὸν δ' ἐξέθ[ηκ]ε καμέ τις.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

(357) τουτὶ μὲν ἔν μοι τῶ[ν πάλ]αι ζητουμένων.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

πῶς οὖν ἐχ[ω]ρί[σθη]τ' ἀπ' [ἀ]λλήλων δ[ί]χα;

ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

ἔ]χοιμ' ἂν ἐ[ἰπεῖ]ν πάντ' ἀκηκουῖά σοι.

790 τὰμὰ δ<έ μ'> ἐρώτα· ῥήτὰ γ[ὰ]ρ ταυτ' ἐστί μοι·  
ἐκείνα δ' αὐτῇ μὴ φράσειν ὁμώμοκα.

780 Suppl. Schwartz. 783 ῥόθ[ω] suppl. von Arnim and van Leeuwen, τ[ινὶ] Wilamowitz. 787 [πάλ]αι suppl. Lloyd-Jones.  
790 Suppl. Robert: ταμαδ' ἐρωτα L.

# PERIKEIROMENE

GLYKERA

[Satisfy] your craving, and learn that from me. 780

PATAIKOS

Tell me [where] you obtained these things you own.

GLYKERA

I wore] these when once rescued as a baby.

MOSCHION

*(aside)*

Draw back a step! See, on a surging wave  
I reach a turning in my destiny!

PATAIKOS

Tell me, were you abandoned on your own? 785

GLYKERA

No, no — my brother was exposed with me.

MOSCHION

*(aside)*

That answers for me one of my [old] queries.

PATAIKOS

How [were you parted] from each other, then?

GLYKERA

I've heard the full tale, and could [tell] it you.  
Ask me my part, though—that's no secret, but 790  
I swore to her<sup>a</sup> I'd not reveal the rest.

<sup>a</sup> Myrrhine, as Moschion's interpretation in 793 confirms. We must accordingly assume that when Glykera moved into Myrrhine's house, she told Myrrhine all that she knew about her and Moschion's origins, with a promise on oath that she would say nothing to anybody else about those of Moschion.



# MENANDER

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

- (362) κ]αὶ τ[οῦ]τό μοι σύσσημον εἶρηκεν σαφές·  
ὁ]μώμοκεν τῇ μ[ητρὶ. πο]ῦ ποτ' [ε]ἰμὶ γῆς;

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ὁ δὲ λαβὼν σε [καὶ τ]ρέφων τίς ἦν ποτε;

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

- 795 γυνή μ' ἔθρε[ψεν, ἥ] τότ' εἶδε κειμένην.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

τοῦ δὲ τόπου τί μνημόνευμά σοι λέγει;

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

- (367) κρή[νην] τιν' ε[ἶπε κ]αὶ τόπον <γ> ὑπόσκιον.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

τὸν αὐ[τ]ὸν ὅνπερ χῶ τιθεὶς εἶρηκέ μοι.

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

τίς δ' οὗτός ἐστιν; εἰ θέμις, κάμοι φράσον.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- 800 ὁ μὲν τιθεὶς παῖς, ὁ δὲ τρέφειν ὀκνῶν ἐγώ.

## ΓΛΤΚΕΡΑ

σὺ δ' ἐξέθηκας ὦν πατήρ; τίνος χάριν;

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- (372) πόλλ' ἐστὶν ἔργ' ἄπιστα, παιδίον, τύχ[ης]  
ἥ μὲν τεκοῦσ' ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἐκλείπει βί[ον]  
εὐθύς, μιᾷ δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέρα, τέκνο[ν—

792 (σύσσημον) Kock fr. 1073

793 πο]ῦ suppl. Wilamowitz.  
suprascript.

795 Over ποτ' L has και

796 τοῦ δὲ τόπου τί μνη[ or μν[ is cited three

# PERIKEIROMENE

MOSCHION

(*aside*)

Those words provide a clear endorsement too:  
“She swore to [mother.” Where] does that leave me?

PATAIKOS

Who was the man who took you in [and] raised you?

GLYKERA

A woman did, [who] saw me then abandoned. 795

PATAIKOS

What memory of the [spot] did she pass on to you?

GLYKERA

She [named] a spring and—yes—a shady spot.

PATAIKOS

Exactly what the man who left you told me.

GLYKERA

Who was that man? Tell me, if that’s allowed.

PATAIKOS

A slave, but it was I who shrank from raising you! 800

GLYKERA

You cast me off, though you’re my father? Why?

PATAIKOS

Actions [of] fate are often strange, my child.  
Your mother died directly when you both  
Were born, and just one day before, my girl . . .

---

times with musical notation in *P. Oxyrhynchus* 3705; see M. Huys, *ZPE*, 99 (1993), 30–32. 798 *κοτιθεισ* L with the omitted *αι* added above *κοτ*. 804 *επροσθεν* L with the omitted *μ* added above the *π*. *τέκνο*[*ν* deciph. and suppl. Sudhaus.

MENANDER

ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

805 τί γίνεταιί ποθ'; ὥς τρέμω τάλαιν' [ἐγώ.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

πένης ἐγενόμην, βίον ἔχειν [εἰθισμένος.

ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

(377) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ; πῶς; ὦ θεοί, δεινοῦ πό[τμον.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ἥ]κουσα τὴν ναῦν ἣ παρείχ' ἡμῖν τροφ[ὴν  
ἄ[γρ]ιον καλύψαι πέλαγος Αἰγαίας ἀλός.

ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

810 τάλαιν' ἔγωγε τῆς τύχης.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ἐφόλκια

(382) ἡ[γῆσ]άμην δὴ πτω[χ]ὸν ὄντα παιδιά  
τ[ρέφ]ειν ἀ[βού]λον παντελῶς ἀνδρὸς τρόπ[ον.  
]τ[. . . .]α τῶν πάντων, τέκ[νον.

ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

τὸ ποῖ[ον;

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

[. . .]λ[. . .].ε.

ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

μηνυθήσεται.

805 τάλαιν' deciph. Wilcken. 806, 809 Suppl. Wilamowitz.  
810 Dicolon after τυχῆς deciph. Jensen. 813-827 are badly  
torn and abraded. 813 τέκ[νον suppl. several. 814 ποῖ[ον  
suppl. Sudhaus.

PERIKEIROMENE

GLYKERA

Whatever happened? Poor [me], how I tremble!

805

PATAIKOS

Ruined, I was! I'd [always] been well off.

GLYKERA

In one day? How? O gods, what awful [luck]!

PATAIKOS

I heard the ship that made our livelihood  
Had sunk beneath a wild Aegean sea.

GLYKERA

Your tragedy grieves me.

PATAIKOS

I thought that in  
My poverty raising dependent children  
Was acting like a total scatterbrain!  
] of them all, my girl.<sup>a</sup>

810

GLYKERA

Which one?

PATAIKOS

[       ]

GLYKERA

That (?) will be made known. There were

<sup>a</sup> In this and the next line, too badly damaged for plausible supplementation, Pataikos and Glykera return to discussing the recognition tokens exposed with Glykera and Moschion as babies.

MENANDER

815 ἦν καὶ δέραια καὶ β[ρ]άχυσ τις [δι]άλιθ[ος]  
κόσμος προσὼν γ[νώ]ρισμα τοῖς [ἐκκε]ιμένοις.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

(387) ἐκεῖ[νον] ἀναθεώμ[εθ'].

ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

[ἀλλ' οὐκ] ἔ[στ'] ἔτι.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

τί [φής;]

ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

[τὰ λοῖφ' ἀδελφὸς ἔλαχε δη]λαδὴ.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ἀλ]λ' ἐ[στὶν] οὐτ[ος, ὡς ἔοιχ', οὐ]μὸς πατήρ.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

820 ἔ]χοις ἂν εἰπεῖν;

ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

[πορφυρ]ᾶ ζώνη τις ἦν.

ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ἦν γάρ.

ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

χορός τε παρθέ[νω]ν ἐνταυθά τις—

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

(392) οὐκουν συνῆκας;

815 δι]άλιθ[ος] suppl. Jensen. 816 Suppl. Sudhaus.

817 ἐκεῖ[νον] ἀναθεώμ[εθ'] suppl. Wilamowitz, the rest Sudhaus. 818–819 Suppl. Sudhaus. 820 [πορφυρ]ᾶ suppl.

Sudhaus. 822 It is uncertain whether there is a dicolon after



PERIKEIROMENE

Necklaces, and a small charm set with stones —  
Put in to identify the castaways.

815

PATAIKOS

[Let's] look at it.

GLYKERA

[But it's no] longer here.

PATAIKOS

What's [that]?

GLYKERA

Presumably [my brother took the rest].

MOSCHION

(*aside*)

But] he['s] my father, [it appears!]

PATAIKOS

Could you

Say what they were?

GLYKERA

There was a [crimson] belt.

820

PATAIKOS

There was.

GLYKERA

With dancing girls embroidered on it.

MOSCHION

(*aside*)

Doesn't that clinch it?

---

συνήκας; the first two words in the line were assigned to Moschion by Sudhaus. οὐκουν Sandbach: L has neither accent nor breathing.

# MENANDER

## ΓΛΥΚΕΡΑ

δ[ιαφαν]ές τε χλ[ανί]διο[ν]  
μίτρα τε χρυσή. πάντα [καθ' ἐ]ν εἴρηκά σ[ο]ι.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

οὐκέτι καθέξω. φιλτάτη, χ[αῖρ'.]

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

εἰ δ' ἐγὼ

825 πρόειμι, "τί προσέχεσθ';" ἐρ[ῶ, "τὸν διά]λο[γον  
πάρειμι τοῦτον πά[ντα παρακούσ]α[ς] ἐγώ."

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

827 ὦ θεοί, τίς ἐστίν οὗτος;

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ὅστ[ις εἴ]μ'; ὁ σ[ὸς]

[νιδος]

822 Suppl. Sudhaus. 823 χρυσητεμιτρα L.: corr. van Herwerden. [καθ' ἐ]ν suppl. Petersen, Sudhaus. εἴρηκά σ[ο]ι deciph. and suppl. Jensen. 824 Suppl. Sandbach. 825 [πρόειμι]ι and ἐρ[ῶ suppl. Arnott *exempli gratia*, τὸν διά]λο[γον Jensen; L has at the end of the line νο with a correcting λ above the ν. 826–828 Suppl. Körte.

(827 is the final line in L, and we have a gap of probably between 100 and 200 lines before a different papyrus (P. Oxyrhynchus 207 = O) provides us with 52 end-damaged lines from a closing scene of the play, in which Polemon and Glykera are reconciled and—now that Glykera has been shown to be a free Corinthian girl—formally betrothed. The lacuna between 827 and this later scene contained the end of Act IV and most of Act V. It is

# PERIKEIROMENE

GLYKERA

A [see-through] cloak, a golden  
Frontal. I've listed every single one for you.

PATAIKOS

*(taking Glykera in his arms)*

I can't hold back, my dearest, any more!

MOSCHION

*(aside)*

If I

[Go forward, I can say] "Why are you hugging? I  
Was here, [and overheard] all [that was said"]].

825

*(Moschion now comes forward.)*

PATAIKOS

*(still embracing Glykera, and hearing but not seeing  
Moschion)*

In heaven's name, who is that?

MOSCHION

Who [am I]?

Your [son]!

*difficult to guess what may have happened in the gap. At 826 Moschion emerges from the shadows to accost Pataikos and Glykera, and a scene in which he was confirmed as Pataikos' son and Glykera's brother will have followed. It is unlikely to have been as elaborate, emotional and serious as the previous one identifying Glykera as Pataikos' daughter; Moschion has already overheard most of the relevant facts, and Menander avoids unnecessary repetition, as for instance Dyskolos 821ff. shows. The new scene could have been written either in iambic trimeter*

*ters—with θεοί in 827 scanning as one long syllable by tragic synizesis—or, perhaps more effectively, in trochaic tetrameters—with 827 then perhaps ending with ὁ σ[ὸς, πάτερ]; a lively trochaic scene would suit the intervention of the ridiculously self-centred Moschion and provide a welcome contrast with the relatively serious scene preced-*

ΜΕΡΟΣ Ε΄

(The opening of this act is lost.)

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

(in mid-speech)

976 ἴν' ἐμαντὸν ἀποπνίξαιμι.

ΔΩΡΙΣ

μὴ δῆτ[', ὦ τάλαν.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

(400) ἀλλὰ τί [π]οήσω, Δωρί; πῶς βιώ[σομαι  
ὁ τρισκακοδαίμων χωρὶς ὧ[ν αὐτῆς;

ΔΩΡΙΣ

[πάλιν

ἄπεισιν εἰς σέ—

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

πρὸς θεῶν, οἷ[ον λέγεις.

ΔΩΡΙΣ

980 ἐὰν προθυμήθῃς ἀκάκως—

976–1026 Supplements and conjectures not otherwise identified were made by edd. prr. of O, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 2, 1899, 11–20). 976 Suppl. Browne.

## PERIKEIROMENE

*ing it, as the Gomme-Sandbach commentary well notes. This scene may have been quite short and may have concluded Act IV.*

*A more or less continuous text resumes at 976, with Polemon and Doris on stage. They both now know that Moschion and Glykera are Pataikos' twin children, but Polemon believes that he has now lost Glykera for ever. However, before 976 P.Oxy. 207 preserves the final letters of a few lines in the previous column: 925 ]ν:, 926 ]μοι, 927 ]σμενο[., 928 ].ο.ους, 930 ]λέγεις = 'you say', 931 ]ων, 951 ].ι, 962 ]ν, 966 ].ας:, 969 ].ωσ, 970 ]τα.)*

### ACT V

#### POLEMON

*(in mid-speech)*

So as to kill myself.

#### DORIS

[Oh dear], not that!

976

#### POLEMON

But what can I do, Doris? How [shall I]

Survive in all my misery without [her]?

#### DORIS

She will come [back] to you . . .

#### POLEMON

*(interrupting)*

What [a suggestion]!

#### DORIS

. . . If you try to behave well in the future.

980

---

978 *αὐτῆς* suppl. Sudhaus, *πάλιν* van Leeuwen.



# MENANDER

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

[προθυμίας  
οὐκ ἐλλίποιμ' ἂν οὐθέν· εὖ τοῦ[τ' ἴσθι.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

[δεῖ.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

- (405) ὑπέρειν λέγεις. βάδιζ'· ἐγὼ σ' ἐλ[ευθέραν  
αὔριον ἀφήσω, Δωρί. ἀλλ' ὁ δε[ῖ λέγειν  
985 ἄκουσον. εἰσελήλυθ'. οἷμοι· [φιλτάτη,  
ὥς κ[α]τὰ κράτος μ' εἵληφας. ἐ[φίλησάς γ' ἄρα  
ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ μοιχόν· ὁ δ' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ  
(410) καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος ἀ[δικεῖσθαι δοκῶν  
εὐθὺς ἐπαρώνουν. τοιγαροῦ[ν ἀπηγχόμην  
καλῶς ποῶν. τί ἐστι, Δωρὶ φιλ[τάτη;

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

- 990 ἀγαθά· πορεύσεθ' ὥς σέ.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

κατεγέλα [δέ μου;

986–987 Kock fr. 862

- 980 προθυμίας suppl. Gronewald. 981 ἐνλιπομ' O. δεῖ  
suppl. Arnott. 982 γωσ' O with the omitted ε suprascript.  
984 φιλτάτη suppl. Sudhaus. 985 Suppl. Arnott.  
986–987 ὁ δ' — ἄνθρωπος cited from Menander by several lex-  
ica (Photius I p. 97 (α 899) Theodoridis, *Etymologicum Magnum*  
57.35, anon. rhetorical lexicon p. 374 Bekker). It is disputed  
whether O here has ζηλοτυπος or ζηνοτυπος.  
987, 988 Suppl. Wilamowitz. 989 ἐξερχ(εται) δωρις added  
by a second hand in left margin of O.  
990 Suppl. Arnott (after δ' ἐμοῦ Capps).

PERIKEIROMENE

POLEMON

I'll not stop trying, [be sure of] that!

DORIS

[You mustn't].

POLEMON

Well spoken. Now go in.

*(Polemon turns away as Doris goes off to Myrrhine's house. When he turns back to address her further, he finds that she has already disappeared.)*

I'll make you [free]

Tomorrow, Doris. Listen though to what

I need [to say]. She's gone in! Oh, [my darling],<sup>a</sup>

How powerfully you have conquered me! [You kissed] 985

A brother, not a lover! [Thinking I]

[Was wronged], straight off I played the jealous  
scourge,

In drunken rage. [I planned to hang myself] —

Quite right, too!

*(Doris re-enters.)*

Dear[est] Doris, what is it?

DORIS

Good news—she's coming back to you!

POLEMON

She's not

990

Teasing [me]?

<sup>a</sup> Alone on stage now, he apostrophises Glykera.

# MENANDER

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

- (415) μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδ[ί]την, ἀλλ' ἐνεδύετο [στολήν·  
ὁ πατήρ ἐπεσκ[εύ]αζ'. ἐχρῆν σε νῦν τα[χὺ  
εὐαγγέλια τῶν γεγονότων ποθ' [ἡδέως  
θ[ύε]ι[ν] ἐκ[ε]ίνης εὐτυχηκυίας [τόδε.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

- 995 νῆ τὸν Δί', ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις. ὁ δ' [ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς  
μάγειρος ἔνδον ἐστί· τὴν ἦν θ[υέτω.

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

κανοῦν δὲ ποῦ, καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ δεῖ;

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

- (420) ὕστερον ἐνάρξεται, ἀλλὰ ταύτην σφ[απτέτω·  
μᾶλλον δὲ καγώ. στέφανον ἀπὸ βω[μοῦ τινα  
1000 ἀφελὼν ἐπιθέσθαι βούλομα[ι].

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

πολλῶ φανεῖ γοῦν.  
πιθα[νώτερος

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

ἄγετέ [γ' ἔ]ξ[ω Γλυκέριον.

991 στολήν suppl. Kretschmar. 992 ἐπεσκ[εύ]αζ' deciph.  
and suppl. Browne, τα[χὺ suppl. van Herwerden.

993 ευαγγελια O. ἡδέως suppl. Arnott. 995 Suppl. Wilamowitz. 999 τινα suppl. Robert. 1001 O has suprascript  
ν over the φ and ησ over the ιγ, implying an alternative (but  
incorrect) reading πολλῶν φανείης. [γ' ἔ]ξ[ω] suppl. Browne,  
Γλυκέριον Arnott.

# PERIKEIROMENE

DORIS

Heavens, no! She's slipping on [a dress]  
 Provided by her father. Hurry! You  
 Should now be celebrating her good fortune with  
 A sacrifice to mark [with joy] news of the event!

POLEMON

By Zeus, you're right. The cook [we hired in town<sup>a</sup>] 995  
 Is in my house — [let's have him kill] the pig!

DORIS

But where's the basket, and our other needs?<sup>b</sup>

POLEMON

The bas[ket] will do later—[let him kill] this pig!  
 No—better me! I'd like to take [a] garland from  
 The al[tar] and wear that.

DORIS

That way you'll look 1000  
 Far [more] convincing.

POLEMON

Bring [out Glykera.]

<sup>a</sup> The supplement here may be speculative, but Menander's practice elsewhere makes it likely that this cook was a character in the play, entering at some point earlier with his pig and going into Polemon's house. One possibility (see the Gomme-Sandbach commentary on 995) is that he arrived with Polemon's 'army' early in Act III and departed with Sosias and the other slaves at line 485 into the house.

<sup>b</sup> The cook doubled as a butcher and normally cut the throat of the animal to be sacrificed. All participants in sacrifices wore garlands; the ceremony began with sprinkling grains of barley from a basket over the head of the still living victim.

# MENANDER

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

καὶ μὴν ἔμελλεν ἐξιέναι δ[ὴ] χὼ πατήρ.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

(425) αὐτός; τί γὰρ πάθη τις;

## ΔΩΡΙΣ

ὦ τά[λαιν' ἐγώ·

1005 ἔ[φυγ]εν. [κ]ακὸν τοσ[οῦτο]ν ἦν θ[ύ]ραν [ψοφεῖν;  
εἴσειμι καὐτὴ σ[υ]μπόησουσ', [εἴ τι δεῖ.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

(430) πάνν σοῦ φιλω τὸ "[ν]ὺν διαλλαχ[θήσομαι".  
ὅτ' εὐτύχηκας, τότε δέ[χ]εσθ[αι] τὴν δίκ[ην]  
τεκμήριον τοῦτ' ἐστ[ὶν] Ἑλλ[ή]νος τρ[ό]που.  
ἀλ[λ'] ἐκκ[α]λείτω τις δ[ραμῶ]ν αὐτ[ὸν] ταχύ.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

1010 ἐ[ξέρχομ']· ἀλλ' ἔθνον [ύ]περεν[δαιμονῶν].  
Γ[λυκέραν γ]ὰρ εὔρηκ[υ]ῖαν οὓς [εἶχ' ἐν γένει  
π[υθό]με[νο]ς—

1002 Suppl. van Leeuwen. 1003 εισερχ(εται) [ῥ? πολεμων]  
written by a second hand above the line after τις in O. τά[λαιν'  
ἐγώ suppl. Papabasileios. 1004 Suppl. Sudhaus. 1006 [ν]ὺν  
deciph. and suppl. Handley. 1007 Suppl. Dziatzko.  
1009 δ[ραμῶ]ν suppl. Weil, αὐτ[ὸν] ταχύ van Herwerden.  
1010 πο]λεμ(ων) O in left margin. ἐ[ξέρχομ'] suppl. van  
Leeuwen, [ύ]περεν[δαιμονῶν] Arnott.  
1011 [εἶχ' ἐν γένει suppl. *exempli gratia* Arnott.



# PERIKEIROMENE

DORIS

Well, she was going to come out [with her father].

POLEMON

With him? What's one to do?

*(At this point the door of Myrrhine's house begins to open, and Polemon panics at the thought of facing Pataikos now no longer as just a friend but as Glykera's father. He rushes off into his house.)*

DORIS

De[ar me], he's [fled]!

The nuisance of a [creaking] door — so terrible!

I'll go in too, to help, [if help's required].

1005

*(Doris goes off into Polemon's house, and Pataikos enters from Myrrhine's house, probably talking back through the open door to Glykera, who is still inside. Pataikos may be accompanied by a mute slave.)*

PATAIKOS

*(to Glykera)*

I greatly like your "[I'll] now make it up".

Accepting a fair settlement when you've

Been lucky — that's a mark of [Greek] beha[viour]!

[Quick], somebody should [run] and call him [out]!

*(Pataikos' slave, if one is present, or perhaps even Pataikos himself—compare the situation at line 751—goes towards Polemon's door to summon him, but Polemon is already at his door and enters forthwith.)*

POLEMON

[I'm coming]. I was sacrificing in

My great [joy]. [Hear]ing [Glykera] had found

[Her kin] . . .

1010

# MENANDER

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- (435) ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις. ἂ [δ' οὖν ἐγὼ  
μέλλω λέγειν ἄκουε. ταύτην γν[ησιῶν  
παιδῶν ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

λ[αμβάνω.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

- 1015 καὶ προῖκα τρία τάλαντα.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

καὶ καλῶ[ς ποεῖς.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαθοῦ στρατιώτης ὦν, [ἵνα  
προπετεὺς ποιήσης μ[η]δὲ ἔν, [Πολέμων, πάλιν.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

- (440) Ἄπολλον· ὃς καὶ νῦν ἀπ[ό]λωλα πα[ρ'] ὀλίγον,  
πάλιν τι πράξω προπετ[έ]ς; οὐδὲ μ[έ]μψομαι  
1020 Γλυκέρα. διαλλάγηθι, φιλτάτη, μό[νον].

## ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονεν ἀρχὴ [πραγμάτων  
ἀγαθῶν τὸ σὸν πάροινον.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

ὀρθῶ[ς γὰρ λέγεις.

1012 παταικ(ος) written above ορθωσγ in O.

1015 ποεῖς suppl. Sandbach. 1016 ἵνα suppl. Sandbach.

1017 Suppl. Gronewald. 1019 Suppl. Wilamowitz.

1022 λέγεις suppl. Sudhaus.

PERIKEIROMENE

(Either during or at the end of this speech Glykera makes her entrance from Myrrhine's house.)

PATAIKOS

(interrupting Polemon)

That's right. [However], listen to  
What I'm going to say. This girl I give to you  
To harvest [lawful] children.<sup>a</sup>

POLEMON

[I accept].

PATAIKOS

I add three talents dowry.

POLEMON

[You're] generous.

1015

PATAIKOS

From now on, [Polemon], forget your soldiering —  
[So then] you'll never act too hastily [again]!

POLEMON

O god, can I, who've [nearly] died the death,  
Again behave too hastily? But Glykera [is not]  
[To blame]. My darling, just be reconciled!

1020

GLYKERA

Your monstrous act has now become for us  
The start of good [experiences].

POLEMON

[Yes, that's] right.

<sup>a</sup> On the formula of betrothal, the dowry and its size see the note on *Dyskolos* 842–843.

# MENANDER

## ΓΑΤΚΕΡΑ

(445) διὰ ταῦτα συγγνώμης τετύχηκα[ς.

## ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

[εὖ λέγεις.

σύνθνε δῆ, Πάταικ'.

## ΠΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ

ἑτέρους ζη[τητέον

1025 ἐστὶν γάμους μοι· τῷ γὰρ ὑῶ λαμβάν[ω

1026 τὴν τοῦ Φιλίνου θυγατέρ'.

## ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ὦ Γῆ [καὶ θεοί,

(Here the papyrus breaks off, with probably only a very few lines remaining before the play comes to an end.)

1023 εὖ λέγεις suppl. Sandbach. 1024 Above *ετερους* in O another hand writes *πολεμ(ων) εισ<ε>ισι*. 1026 In O there seems to be the upper dot of a dicolon before the *ω*. Kauer identified the new speaker as Moschion.

\* \* \*

# PERIKEIROMENE

GLYKERA

That's why you are forgiven.

POLEMON

[You're a saint.]

Pataikos, share my sacrifice.

*(Polemon goes back into his house, possibly accompanied by Glykera.)*

PATAIKOS

[I've now to] fix

A second wedding. For my son [I'll get

1025

Philinos' daughter.

*(At this point Moschion bursts on to the stage from Myrrhine's house.)*

MOSCHION

[Gods of heaven], and Earth . . .

1026

*(The papyrus breaks off at this point, with very little of the play still to run, in all probability. Pataikos may have announced a party to celebrate the family reunion and the betrothal(s?), thus providing an appropriate context for a conventional dramatic coda with its final prayer for Victory, perhaps identical in wording with that preserved in the closing lines of the Dyskolos, 968–969.)*

\* \* \*



MENANDER

*Two fragments of Περικειρομένη,  
quoted by ancient authors*

1 (1 Sandbach and Körte, 391 Kock)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 2. 33. 6 (ὅτι ἡ ὁμοιότης τῶν τρόπων  
φιλίαν ἀπεργάζεται): Μενάνδρου Περικειρομένη·

οὕτω ποθεινόν ἐστὶν ὁμότροπος φίλος.

2 (2 S and Kö, 392 K)

The Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων (Bekker, *Anecdota  
Graeca* 1. 427. 23) s.v. ἀποδείξαι, οὐ παραδείξαι·

ὁμως δ' ἀπόδειξον ταῦτα τῇ γυναικὶ καί . . .

Περικειρομένη Μένανδρος.

## PERIKEIROMENE

*Two fragments of Perikeiromene,  
quoted by ancient authors*

### 1

Stobaeus ('That likeness of character creates friendship'): in Menander's *Perikeiromene*

A friend in harmony is so desirable.

*These words were perhaps spoken by Polemon in praise of Pataikos.*

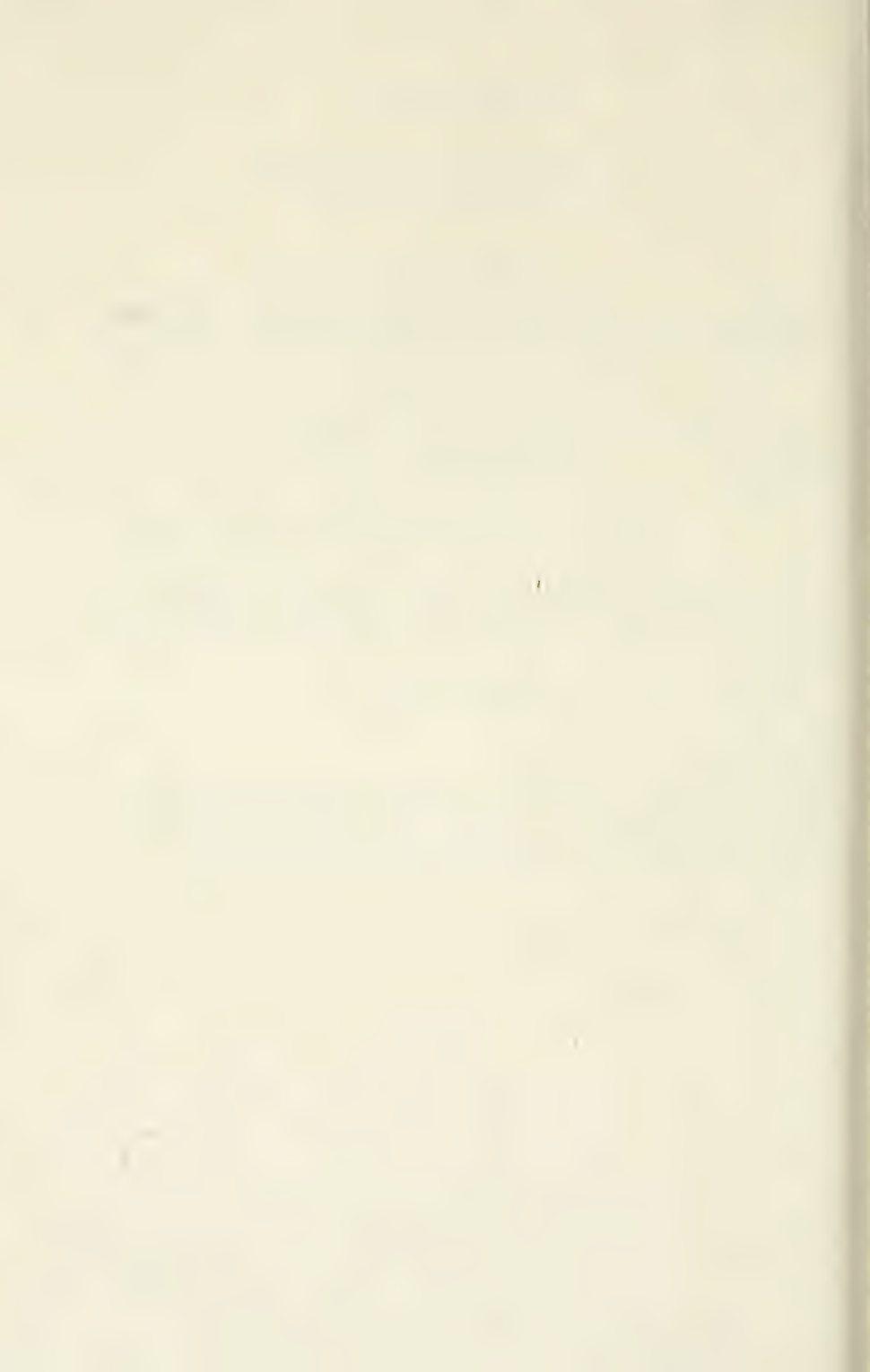
### 2

The anonymous *Lexicon of Useful Terms* s.v. ἀποδείξαι, advising the use of ἀποδείξαι, not παραδείξαι, in the sense 'to indicate/show':

Yet show them to the woman and . . .

Menander in *Perikeiromene*.

*Was this Pataikos addressing Glykera somewhere after line 827 and encouraging her to show her recognition tokens to Myrrhine and have her compare them with Moschion's?*



PERINTHIA  
(THE GIRL FROM PERINTHUS)

## INTRODUCTION

### *Manuscript*

O = *P. Oxyrhynchus* 855, a scrap of papyrus from the third century A.D., containing 23 lines in one column and the end of one in the column that precedes. It is now in Oxford: Bodleian Library, Gr. Class. e 99 (P). First edition: B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 6 (1908), 150–155; no photograph is published, but I am grateful to the Bodleian Library for supplying one to me.

Fragments 1 to 10 are quotations in later authors (see the introduction to Volume I, pp. xxiv f.), numbered here in the order of their conjectured appearance in the original play; they are printed after the papyrus text, together with four testimonia that provide information from antiquity about the play.

Perinthus was a town on the north side of the Propontis (now the Sea of Marmara) near to the modern Marmaraeğlisi, and a girl who had moved from there to Athens gave Menander's play its title, although it is possible that she never spoke a word in it nor even appeared on stage. Although only one small piece of papyrus and ten ancient quotations survive from *Perinthia*, the play



## PERINTHIA

has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest, owing mainly to Terence's confession in the prologue to his *Andria* that he had been able to blend material from both the *Andria* and the *Perinthia* of Menander in his Latin comedy because the two Greek plays 'are not so different in plot' (*non ita dissimili sunt argumento* v. 11: see testimonium I).

The precise meaning and trustworthiness of this confession are both disputed; Terence's prologues are adversarial and point-scoring defences of his methods, not statements sworn on oath. Even so, such evidence as is preserved tends to indicate that here Terence sticks closer to the truth than sometimes he does elsewhere. The plot of his *Andria* centres on the love affair of Pamphilus, a young Athenian, and Glycerium, a girl apparently hailing from the island of Andros; their baby is born during the play. Simo, the young man's father, had meanwhile arranged for his son to marry Chremes' daughter, but Chremes renegued when he learnt about Pamphilus' affair. Simo still pressed on with the arrangements for the marriage, hoping thereby to test Pamphilus' loyalty to him and to foil in advance any tricks that might be devised by Davos, a house slave and Pamphilus' abettor, to prevent it. When Davos advised Pamphilus to call his father's bluff by now agreeing to the marriage, the results at first were disastrous for both Pamphilus and another young man named Charinus who wanted to marry Chremes' daughter; Simo was able to persuade Chremes to agree once again to the marriage. In the end, after a series of misadventures and misunderstandings, the arrival of a new character called Crito made possible a solution that the two young men desired. Glycerium had originally

come to Athens with a girl from Andros who had exchanged her job as a spinner and weaver for the more lucrative one of *hetaira* before she died, and Crito was that girl's cousin and heir. Crito was able to prove that Glycerium was a long-lost daughter of Chremes, and so she was free, being Athenian, to marry her Pamphilus, while the other young man could ask Chremes for the hand of his other daughter.

The fragments of *Perinthia* on papyrus and in ancient quotations point to a plot similar to that of Terence's *Andria* at various points. Some character names are different (thus the Greek counterpart to Simo is named Laches), some are identical (Terence's Davos is certainly Menander's Daos, and another 'slave in Terence's play named Byrrhia may reappear as Pyrrhias, if a plausible supplement at v. 8 of the papyrus is accepted: but see below). In the scene partly preserved on the papyrus Daos has taken refuge at the stage altar in order presumably to escape punishment for some serious misdeed, while Laches and several slaves prepare a bonfire to force him out of his place of sanctuary. In Terence's *Andria* Simo first threatens (196–201) and then proceeds (860–867) to chastise Daos, but there the punishment (along presumably with the crime) is much less brutal.

Several of the Greek quotations from *Perinthia* show points of contact with the Terentian comedy. Fragment 4 mentions a woman who drinks heavily; if this is Terence's Lesbia, the midwife called in to deliver Glycerium's baby (*Andria* 228–230, 459–488), we must presume that the delivery of a baby to Glycerium's counterpart was also part of the *Perinthia*'s plot. Fragment 6 mentions a slave carrying cheap fish into a house; this corresponds closely

## PERINTHIA

with *Andria* 368 f., where Davos describes the absence of any preparations for a wedding at Chremes' house, and implies that in *Perinthia* too Simo's counterpart had used the pretence of a wedding as a subterfuge. These two fragments provide the closest contacts; several others fit well if less precisely into the Terentian structure. Thus fragment 2 is possibly a comment by Sosia's Greek counterpart (Laches' wife: see below) on the funeral of Glycerium's associate at the beginning of the play (*Andria* 107–141), 7 and 8 may be advice to Crito's counterpart when he arrives in Athens as heir to the deceased girl of Andros (*Andria* 799), and 9 can be interpreted as the same character's claim to have an honest heart as well as a becoming exterior (see *Andria* 856).

A little more information about *Perinthia* and its relation to the *Andria* plays of Menander and Terence is provided by the commentaries of Donatus, garbled though these often are now. Writing on vv. 10 and 14 (testimonia II and III) Donatus tells us that the opening scenes of the two Menander plays were virtually identical, although in his *Andria* the old man was alone while in *Perinthia* he conversed with his wife; Terence's *Andria* retained the dialogue form, but substituted a freedman for the wife. On v. 301 of Terence's play (testimonium IV) Donatus says that Charinus and his slave Byrrhia were not *apud Menandrum*, 'in Menander', but does that mean that they were not in either Menandrian play (and so added by Terence as a personal invention), or that they did not exist in Menander's *Andria* (but were taken by Terence from Menander's *Perinthia*)? We cannot be sure of the correct answer here; the plausible supplementation of the name Pyrrhias (the Greek form of Byrrhia) at v. 8 of the *Perin-*

*thia* papyrus is no real help to a solution, since here Pyrrhias is far more likely to be a slave of Laches helping to start the bonfire than the attendant of Charinus' counterpart.<sup>1</sup>

The first editors of *P. Oxyrhynchus* 855 called it an 'unidentified New Attic comedy' of uncertain authorship, although they noted that the close similarity of its vv. 13–15 to fragment 3 of *Perinthia* seemed to 'point to Menander'. A year later Körte (*Hermes*, 44, 1909, 309–313) firmly identified both author and play by showing that the similarity noted by Grenfell and Hunt was due simply to Laches at vv. 13–15 of the papyrus throwing back in Daos' teeth an insult which the slave had made earlier at fragment 3 of *Perinthia*; it is unclear whether Laches had himself overheard that insult, or had only had it reported to him.

Since 1908 two other papyri have tentatively but with less success been attributed to Menander's *Perinthia*. Adelmo Barigazzi (*Hermes*, 88, 1960, 379–382) drew attention to a note added by a second hand below line 36 of fr. 3 of *P. Hibeh* 181.<sup>2</sup> That note referred to a  $\pi\rho]οστά-τ[η]ν$ , 'protector' or 'patron', and Barigazzi attributed the three mutilated scraps of comic trimeters in *P. Hibeh* 181 to Menander's *Perinthia* because of the attested use of this word at the beginning of this play (see *Perinthia* fr. 1

<sup>1</sup> See now S. M. Goldberg, *Understanding Terence* (Princeton 1986), 126–135 (with brief bibliography at 127 n. 6).

<sup>2</sup> First published by E. G. Turner, *The Hibeh Papyri*, 2 (London 1985), 18, 24 f.; see also Colin Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin and New York 1973), pp. 295 f., no. 262.



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below). The argument is not compelling in itself; although the word is not elsewhere found with this sense in identified passages of Menander,<sup>1</sup> it is likely to have occurred in plays where the need for a protector or patron of a resident alien (such as a *hetaira*) in Athens was relevant to the plot, and Terence's *Eunuchus* 1039 f. is not the only passage in Latin where the word *προστάτης* in that sense is likely to have occurred in the Menandrian original. In any event the three fragments of *P. Hibeh* 181, which all derive apparently from the same section of the play, include a list of food (fr. 1) which has no place at the beginning of a play known to have closely resembled that of Terence's *Andria*.

The other papyrus is *P. Berlin* 11771,<sup>2</sup> which I myself (*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 102, 1994, 61–70) hesitantly identified as an earlier part of that scene to which the *Perinthia* papyrus belongs. In it a slave rushes in and seeks asylum at the stage altar, and I drew attention to three points of contact between the Berlin papyrus and Menander's *Perinthia*. There is a character named Sosias in both *P. Berlin* (v. 10) and the *Perinthia* papyrus (v. 21: Σω]σίας as speaker). An 'heir' is mentioned in *P. Berlin* v. 9, an 'inheritance' in the *Perinthia* papyrus (v. 18), while Criton is the dead *hetaira*'s heir in Terence's *Andria* 799. Finally v. 57 of *P. Berlin* seems to echo Laches' reference to τὸν μὲν ἀπράγμονα ('the

<sup>1</sup> It does, however, occur with this sense in anonymous fragments of New Comedy which *may* be by Menander: e.g. (in addition to the passage cited by Barigazzi) fr. 269.5 Austin.

<sup>2</sup> First published by Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1918, 743–747; cf. Austin, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–241, no. 239.



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easy-going' master) in v. 13 of the *Perinthia* papyrus. It is, however, very difficult to see how some events that loom large in the comedy on the Berlin papyrus—a wealthy man's death, a slave pursued to his asylum by somebody who accuses him of kidnapping, for instance—could be incorporated in a plot basically similar at so many points to that of Terence's *Andria*.

Accordingly, neither the Hibeh nor the Berlin papyrus fragments are printed here.

No hypothesis, didascalical notice, or cast list is preserved for this play. Its production date is unknown; some have suggested that *Perinthia* was an early work of Menander's, with his *Andria* providing a more mature and less violent version of the plot, but such a view is not supported by any evidence (see volume I of the Loeb Menander, p. 384).

*Dramatis personae*, so far as they are known (the names of their counterparts in Terence's *Andria* are added in brackets):

(i) those whose presence is confirmed by the Greek fragments or the *testimonia*:

Laches, an old man (Simo)

Laches' wife

Daos, a slave in Laches' household (Davos)

[So]sias, a slave or freedman whose owner is unknown  
(and so not necessarily to be equated with Terence's

Sosia, the freedman in Simo's household)

A midwife (Lesbia)

## PERINTHIA

(ii) those whose presence can be assumed from the plot of Terence's *Andria*:

The Perinthian girl's maid (Mysis)

Laches' son (Pamphilus)

A second old man (Chremes)

A Perinthian relative of the *hetaira* who died in Athens  
(Crito)

It is possible, but not certain, that counterparts to Terence's Charinus (a second young man) and his slave Byrrhia were characters in the play. Other slaves in Laches' household seem to have appeared as mutes: Tibeios, Gétas and (unless he was the second young man's slave named Byrrhia in Terence) Pyrrhias. There is no evidence that the title figure appeared on the stage in Menander's play. There was presumably also a chorus to perform the entr'actes.

The scene was presumably Athens, and if it corresponded to that in Terence's *Andria*, two houses would have been visible: one belonging to Laches, the other to the girl of Perinthus.

## ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΑ

(*The main papyrus fragment*)

ΛΑΧΗΣ (?)

.....]. σὺ δ' ἀκολουθεῖ, [Πυρρία.

ΔΑΟΣ (?)

κληματίδ]ας ἔξεισιν φέρων. <sup>1</sup>

ΛΑΧΗΣ (?)

τὸ πῦρ [ἔχεις;

ΔΑΟΣ

καὶ πῦρ; πρόδηλον. ὦ Τίβειε καὶ Γέτα,

In the apparatus to this play, those conjectures and supplements whose author is not named were made by the edd. prr. of O, Grenfell and Hunt.

1 Suppl. Leo.

2 κληματίδ]ας suppl. Wilamowitz, ἔχεις Sudhaus. Change of speaker after φέρων suggested by Körte (O appears to have no dicolon).

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<sup>a</sup> Presumably Pyrrhias.

## PERINTHIA

(The Girl from Perinthus)

*(Three characters with speaking roles appear to be involved in this extract: Laches, his slave Daos, and a second slave Sosias of unknown ownership. Laches, with the help of three other slaves (Tibeios, Getas and Pyrrhias) played here by mutes, prepares a bonfire to be lit around the stage altar. The aim is to punish or at least dislodge Daos, who has sought sanctuary there, presumably after some serious misdemeanour which may have been connected with the inheritance mentioned in v. 18. At the beginning of the extract it seems likely that Laches speaks as he enters from his house and gives orders back to an unseen slave inside.)*

LACHES (?)

[Pyrrhias,] you follow me.

DAOS (?)

He'll<sup>a</sup> come out with the [brushwood].

LACHES (?)

*(still addressing Pyrrhias inside)*

[Have you got] the fire?

DAOS

*(terrified)*

Fire too? It's clear. Tibeios and Getas,

MENANDER

5 ἔπειτα κατακαύσει μ'; ἀφείητ' ἄν, Γέτα,  
 σύν]δουλον ὄντα, καὶ διασώσαι[τ'; ε]ῦ πάνν·  
 οὐκ] ἄν μ' ἀφείητ', ἀλλὰ περιόψεσθέ με;  
 οὔτ]ω πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν; προσέρχεται  
 ὁ Πυρ]ρίας, ὅσον γε φορτίον φέρων.  
 ἀπό]λωλα. καὶ δᾶδ' αὐτὸς ἡμμένην ἔχων  
 10 ..... ἀκ]ολουθεῖ.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

περίθεται ἐ[ν] κύκλῳ ταχύ.  
 νυνί γ' ἐπ]ίδειξαι, Δᾶε, τὴν πανουργίαν,  
 τέχνην τιν' εὐρὼν διαφυγών τ' ἐνθένδε με.

ΔΑΟΣ

τέχνην ἐγώ;

ΛΑΧΗΣ

ναί, Δᾶε, τὸν μὲν ἀπράγμονα  
 καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾶν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότην  
 15 φλύαρος.

ΔΑΟΣ

ἡήν.

5 διασώσαι[τ' suppl. van Herwerden, ε]ῦ Leo.

6 Suppl. Leo.

7 οὔτ]ω suppl. Leo (*pace* Grenfell and Hunt p. 154).

8 Suppl. Wilamowitz.

11 Suppl. Leo.

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<sup>a</sup> See fragment 3 below and the introduction to *Perinthia*.



# PERINTHIA

Will he then burn me alive? Please, let me go,  
 Getas—your [fellow] slave—and save me? Very  
 [good]—

5

[Not] let me go? And turn your back on me?

*(The text of lines 4 to 7 has four small lacunae, whose supplementation remains uncertain. The translation given above implies a series of visual gestures from the participants in the scene: desperate pleas by Daos to Tibeios and Getas, then initial support from Getas at least, followed—under threat from Laches?—by a repudiation. Pyrrhias now enters and carries his load of sticks to the altar. Laches follows him, holding a lighted torch.)*

Is [that the way] we treat each other? Here  
 Comes [Pyr]rhias—what an enormous load  
 He has. I'm finished. Master's there, behind  
 Him [ ] with a blazing torch.

LACHES

Quick, put them round. 10

*(While Pyrrhias scatters the brushwood around the altar, Laches turns to address Daos.)*

[Now,] Daos, demonstrate your wicked stunts —  
 Devise a scheme, give me the slip from here!

DAOS

Scheme? Me?

LACHES

Yes, Daos—it's a joke, you see,  
 To trick your easy-going, bird-brained master!<sup>a</sup>

DAOS

Oh no!

## MENANDER

ΛΑΧΗΣ

εἰ δέ τις τὴν τῶν φρενῶν  
στακτὴν—ἐκνίσθης;

ΔΑΟΣ

οὐχὶ πρὸς σοῦ, δέσποτα.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ (?)

ὁ μὲν πονηρός, ὁ θρασὺς ἐνθάδ' ἀρτίως  
κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν—τὴν κληρονομίαν φι[λ]τάτο[υ]  
]οδων.

(?)

ἔξειν χάριν

20

]ς ὑφ' ἡμῶν.

ΛΑΧΗΣ

 $\kappa \alpha \epsilon \tau[\epsilon].$ 

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ

] . ὡς ἀφίκετο

]φερόμενος γὰρ καὶν κύκλῳ  
 ]ρτων τ' ἐστὶ τὸ [

23

17 The name  $\sigma\omega^\sigma$  clearly written in the left margin of O.

19 ? :εξειν O, but the lower point of the dicolon is uncertain.

21 σω]σας written above ]ωσαφικετο in O to indicate speaker.

<sup>a</sup> This reference, literally to 'the inheritance', remains a puzzle; if it concerns a part of the plot involving Sosias, it might imply a major deviation from the plot of Terence's *Andria*, where

# PERINTHIA

LACHES

If one should find your precious brains—  
Did *that* sting you?

15

DAOS

But that's not like you, master!

*(Sosias, previously a silent witness of events, now enters the conversation, after noticing that Daos' terror has impaired control of his bowels.)*

SOSIAS

This cunning rogue, this man so reckless here  
Just now—look down his legs! The legacy<sup>a</sup>  
Of (?) dearest [ ] out.

(?)

[  
Will thank [ ] by us.

LACHES

Light the fire!

20

SOSIAS

[ ] he came [  
Taken [to market] and there in the rings<sup>b</sup>  
] and is the [

23

*(Here the papyrus breaks off. We may surmise that Daos was released before being seriously injured, but we cannot*

the problem of inheritance is of minor importance (799, 807–816) and does not affect any slave.

<sup>b</sup> In Athens 'the rings' were normally that part of the Athenian market where slaves were sold. The broken text in *Perinthia* here may imply that after his punishment Daos will be put up for sale.

# MENANDER

## *Two further minute scraps of the papyrus*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (a) <i>End of line in previous column, level with line 14 above</i> | (b) <i>Separate scrap, not certainly placed</i> |
|---|---|

]χοι

]τιβ]

Scrap (b) could be fitted into Leo's tentative supplements before the extant part of v. 1, ω] Τίβ[ειε καὶ Γέτα, / φυλάττετ' αὐτον]·.

\* \* \*

## *Ten fragments of Περινθία, quoted by ancient authors*

### 1 (1a Körte, 1 Sandbach)

Harpocration s.v. προστάτης (π 105, p. 223 Keaney) οἱ τῶν μετοίκων Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότες προστάται ἐκαλοῦντο· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν ἕκαστον τῶν μετοίκων πολίτην τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (so mss. of fuller version: Ἀθηναῖον in epitome) νέμειν προστάτην. . . . μέμνηται καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Περινθίας (-είας mss. of fuller version: first corrected in a printed edition (Paris 1614) by P. J. Maussacus).

## PERINTHIA

*be certain that this was due to the arrival of a man from Perinthus acting as the counterpart of Crito in Terence's Andria. Two other tiny fragments of text survive from this papyrus. One is an incomprehensible group of three letters from the end of a line in the previous column; the other may be the first part of Tibeios's name, perhaps from the line lost before v. 1: e.g. 'Tib[eios and Getas, / Guard him, and Pyrrhias,] you follow me'.)*

\* \* \*

*Ten fragments of Perinthia,  
quoted by ancient authors*

### 1

Harpocration s.v. προστάτης ('protector' or 'patron'): Those protecting resident aliens in Athens were called προστάται, for each of the resident aliens was obliged to have an Athenian citizen as a προστάτης . . . Menander too mentions this at the beginning of his *Perinthia*.

*The word does not occur elsewhere with this sense in what survives of Menander, but as the recognised term for an official important to many characters in Menander's plays—his hetairai for example were typically resident aliens in the cities where the events of the plot were set—it is likely to have appeared more than once in his lost works. Harpocration's statement makes it likely that Laches or his wife referred in the opening scene of the play to the necessity for Menander's counterparts to Terence's Chrysis and/or Glycerium to acquire a προστάτης when they settled in Athens (note Andria 71, and see 813). See especially A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, I (Oxford 1968), 189–199, and D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978), 77f.*



# MENANDER

## 2 (2 Kō, 5 S)

Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 4. 55. 2 (περὶ ταφῆς), with the heading Μενάνδρου Περινθίας (-θείας ms. A). Line 1 is also cited in the monostichs attributed to Menander (601 Jäkel).

### ΛΑΧΗΤΟΣ ΓΤΝΗ (?)

οὐπόποτ' ἐζήλωσα πολυτελῇ νεκρόν·  
εἰς τὸν ἴσον ὄγκον τῷ σφόδρ' ἔρχετ' εὐτελεί.

2 Corr. Bentley: ἴσoν δ' mss. SA, ἴσον δ' M.

## 3 (1b Kō, 3 S)

Aelius Dionysius (a 4 Erbse), Photius (a 36, I p. 11 Theodoridis) and the *Suda* (a 32 Adler) s.v. ἀβέλτερος· οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὁ πλεονέκτης καὶ ἀγνώμων, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνόητος καὶ εὐήθης μετὰ χαννότητος. Μένανδρος Περινθία·

### ΔΑΟΣ

ὅστις παραλαβὼν δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα  
καὶ κούφον ἐξαπατᾷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι  
οὗτος μεγαλείον ἐστι διαπεπραγμένος  
ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν πάλαι <γ'> ἀβέλτερον.

4 πάλαι Photius: ποτε *Suda*. γ' added by Reitzenstein.

## 4 (5 Kō, 4 S)

Athenaeus 11. 504a: (ὁ Πλούταρχος) ἔδωκε (τὴν φιάλην) τῷ παιδὶ περισοβεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ κελεύσας, τὸ κύκλῳ πίνειν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγων, παρατιθέμενος Μενάνδρου ἐκ Περινθίας·

<sup>a</sup> On this character see my note on *Theophoroumene* fr. 3.

## PERINTHIA

### 2

Stobaeus ('On burial'): from Menander's *Perinthia*,

#### LACHES' WIFE (?)

I've never envied an expensive corpse —  
It and the cheapest end with equal bulk!

*Presumably a comment on the funeral of the counterpart to Terence's Chrysis (Andria 107–136). See also the introduction to Perinthia.*

### 3

Three lexica s.v. ἀβέλτερος ('stupid'): On my oath, not the man who is grasping or unfeeling, but one who is mindless and foolish combined with frivolity. Menander in *Perinthia*,

#### DAOS

I don't know what remarkable achievement's  
Accomplished by a servant who takes on  
And tricks an easy-going, bird-brained master —  
He's fooling one who's been a fool for years!

*Daos' complacent boast is later quoted back at him (see vv. 13–15 of the papyrus fragment) by his master, who accordingly must have either overheard it here or had it reported to him: see the introduction to Perinthia. The boast could have been inserted in a monologue comparable to that in Terence, Andria 206–227, for example.*

### 4

Athenaeus: Plutarch (of Alexandria<sup>a</sup>) gave (the cup) to the slave with an order 'to whizz it around', explaining that this meant 'drinking (from one beaker passed) around the whole circle', producing as evidence a passage from Menander's *Perinthia*,

## MENANDER

οὐδεμίαν ἢ γραῦς ὅλως  
κύλικά παρῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἔπιε τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ.

1 Corr. Musurus: ἤγρευσ' A (omitted in Epitome). 2 Corr. Arnott tentatively: ἀλλὰ πίνει τὴν κύκλῳ A (πίνει τὴν κύκλῳ also mss. of Epitome).

### 5 (4 Kō, 8 S)

Harpocration (π 80 p. 217 Kearney), Photius (p. 381 Porson) and the *Suda* π 2032 Adler) s.v. πομπείας καὶ πομπεύειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ λοιδορίας καὶ λοιδορεῖν . . . ἢ μεταφορὰ δὲ (μεταφέρει δὲ mss. of Harpocration apart from D) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς (ταῖς omitted by some mss. of Harpocration) Διονυσιακαῖς πομπαῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν λοιδορουμένων ἀλλήλοισι· Μένανδρος Περιθία (Περινθία ms. D of *Suda*)·

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν εἰσι πομπεῖαί τινες  
σφόδρα λοῖδοροι.

### 6 (6 Kō, 2 S)

Athenaeus 7. 301ab: ἐψητός· ἐπὶ τῶν λεπτῶν ἰχθυδίων . . .  
Μένανδρος Περιθία·

## PERINTHIA

The old hag never once  
Missed out a cup, but drank the circling beaker.

*Presumably a description of an alcoholic midwife, Menander's counterpart to the Lesbia of Terence's Andria, who is called a drunkard at 228–232. See also the introduction to Perinthia.*

### 5

Three lexica, s.vv. *πομπείας καὶ πομπεύειν* ('ribaldries and to utter ribaldries'): in place of 'abuse' and 'to abuse' . . . the new sense comes from those in the Dionysiac processions abusing each other on their wagons. Menander in *Perinthia*,

There's some very abusive ribaldry  
Upon the wagons.

*Speaker and situation are unidentified. One possibility is that a speaker such as Daos is referring to the kind of behaviour expected in wedding processions, when the bride was driven by the bridegroom to the latter's house in a wagon, and obscene comments were made by participants and spectators (cf. Hans Licht, Sexual Life in Ancient Greece, translated by J. H. Freese (London 1932), 41–53, and Walter Erdmann, Die Ehe im alten Griechenland (Munich 1934), 250–261). A dramatic context could be provided by Davos' question after he had noted the absence of wedding preparations around Chremes' house, from which the bride would have had to be collected (Andria 366): num uidentur conuenire haec nuptiis? ('Does this look like a wedding?').*

### 6

Athenaeus, under the heading *ἐψητός* (boiled fish): With reference to tiny little fish . . . Menander in *Perinthia*,

# MENANDER

ΔΑΟΣ

τὸ παιδίον

εἰσῆλθεν ἐψητοὺς φέρον.

2 φέρον ms. A and Epitome ms. C: φέρων Epitome ms. E. The fragment is usually (but unnecessarily) printed as a single iambic trimeter, with δ' added (first by Musurus) after τὸ παιδίον.

## 7 (3 Kö, 6 S)

Pollux 10. 12: ἐκαλείτο δὲ ταῦτα (sc. τὰ κατ' οἰκίαν χρήσιμα) ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ μαλακά, οἷον εὐμεταχείριστα, ὡς εἶπε Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Περινθίᾳ.

ὅσ' ἐστὶ μαλακὰ συλλαβῶν  
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸ σύνολον ἐκπήδα, < υ - >,   
θαῖττον.

1 ὅσ' Bentley: ὡς mss. FS, ὁ CL. ἐστὶ CL: ἐπὶ FS.

2 ἐκπήδα θαῖττον FS, ἐκπήδα φίλος CL: where φίλος looks like a feeble stopgap introduced after the original word (e.g. a vocative such as Κρίτων) had been omitted from the quotation.



## PERINTHIA

DAOS

The slave

Went in, bringing some tiny fish.

*This fragment closely matches one of Davos' comments after his scouting expedition to Chremes' house (Andria 368 f.): etiam puerum inde abiens conueni Chremi: / holera et pisciculos minutos ferre obolo in cenam seni, 'Furthermore, I met a slave of Chremes as I left, / Bringing for the old man's dinner greens and tiny fish bought cheap.' It appears that in Menander's Perinthia too at the equivalent stage Daos visited the house of the Greek counterpart to Chremes and found that no preparations were being made there for the wedding of the daughter of the house to Laches' son. See the introduction to Perinthia.*

### 7

Pollux: These things (sc. items useful in a house) were described by later authors as μαλακά ('soft', presumably a colloquial substitute for 'movable'), that is easy to handle, as Menander said in the *Perinthia*,

Assemble all

That you can handle, and leave town, [ ~ - ],  
Quickly!

*In Terence's Andria Crito was officially Chrysis' heir (799), but he faced practical and legal difficulties now that Glycerium had come into possession of the estate (809-816). Could this fragment have been advice proffered in Menander's play to Crito's counterpart, to make a quick raid on the house? The suspected omission in the text at the end of v. 2 could most conveniently be filled by a vocative naming the dead girl's cousin (not necessarily called the Greek equivalent of Crito). See the introduction to Perinthia.*

## MENANDER

### 8 (8 Kö, 7 S)

The *Suda* s.v. ἀνέπαφον (α 2289 Adler): ἀνεύθυννον, καθαρόν, ἀθιγές, ἀψηλάφητον. Μένανδρος Περινθία·

τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀνέπαφα σώματ', οὐδ' ἔλη.

οὐδ' ἔλη ms. S (first printed in L. Kuster's edition, Cambridge 1705): οὐδέλη other mss. Mss. IM add a note ἴσως βδέλλη. On the text, punctuation, and possible relation to fr. 7 see my paper in *ZPE* 111 (1996), 5 f.

### 9 (7 Kö, 9 S)

Maximus Planudes, *Scholia in Hermogenem*, περὶ ιδέων I (*Rhetores Graeci* 5. 486 Walz): κεῖται δὲ (sc. τὸ ὑπόξυλος) ἐπὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν μὲν ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐπιεικῶν, πονηρῶν δὲ τὰ ἔνδον· καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Περινθίᾳ φησίν·

οὐδ' αὐτός εἰμι σὺν θεοῖς ὑπόξυλος.

See also the anonymous scholion on Hermogenes in *codex Parisinus* 1938 fol. 186 (cited by Johann von Borries, *Phrynichi sophistae Praeparatio sophistica*, Leipzig 1911, p. 116): Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Περινθίᾳ φησίν· οὐδ'—ὑπόξυλος· οἶον κίβδηλος καὶ οὐ γνήσιος οὐδὲ ἀληθής, ἀπὸ τῶν ξυλίνων καὶ περιηργυρωμένων σκευῶν.

## PERINTHIA

### 8

The *Suda* s.v. ἀνέπαφον ('not for seizing'): not accountable, clear, inviolate, untouched. Menander in *Perinthia*,

The rest are bodies<sup>a</sup> not for seizing, you'll  
Not take them!

*In the absence of context the reference is uncertain, but one possibility is that this is a warning by the speaker of fragment 7, not to seize any of the house slaves. If so, fragment 8 could be a continuation of 7. See also the introduction to Perinthia.*

### 9

A scholion of Planudes on Hermogenes: The word (sc. ὑπό-ξυλος: literally 'wooden underneath') is applied to those who have dazzling and fine exteriors, but are rotten inside. Menander says in the *Perinthia*,

And I'm not rotten underneath, god willing!

An anonymous scholion on the same passage in a Paris manuscript introduces the same fragment with: 'Menander in the *Perinthia* says: And I'm not—willing', continuing with the explanation: 'false, not genuine or true, from articles made of wood and silver-plated'.

*Crito is presented in Terence's Andria as a man of impressive appearance (856 f.) and good character (915), and this fragment could be a rejoinder to doubts expressed about his behaviour by either Daos or more probably Laches (cf. Andria 909–925). See the introduction to Perinthia.*

<sup>a</sup> I.e. slaves: see especially W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 5 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1991), 182–185, and A. M. Belardinelli's edition of *Men. Sik.* (Bari 1994), commentary on line 3.

# MENANDER

10 (9 Kö, 10 S)

A compilation of proverbs based on Zenobius (1. 60: Emmanuel Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris 1868) 355): Αἰάντειος γέλως· μέμνηται ταύτης (sc. τῆς παροιμίας) Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Περιινθία τῇ πρώτῃ. λέγουσι δὲ ὅτι Πλεισθένης ὁ ὑποκριτῆς (= in their lists of actors no. 400 O'Connor, 2069 Stefanis, p. 351 Ghiron-Bistagne) τὸν Καρκίνου Αἶαντα (probably Carcinus II: TGrF I<sup>2</sup> p. 211 F 1a) ὑποκρινόμενος εὐκαίρως ἐγέλασε· τοῦ γὰρ Ὀδυσσέως εἰπόντος ὅτι τὰ δίκαια χρὴ ποιεῖν, μετὰ εἰρωνείας ὁ Αἶας τῷ γέλῳτι ἐχρήσατο.

[Zenobius]: Ajax laughter: Menander mentions this (proverb) in his first *Perinthia*. Men say that the actor Pleisthenes when acting the role of Ajax in Carcinus' play laughed at an appropriate moment. When Odysseus said that "one must do the honest thing", Ajax interposed an ironic laugh.

*The paroemiographer's words imply that the proverb 'Ajax laughter' originated in a historical event. A tragic actor named Pleisthenes is known to have won a victory in the Greater Dionysia at Athens probably in the late fourth century B.C. (IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2325.36 = V A 2 col. 4.15 Mette), but we cannot be certain whether (i) this Pleisthenes was identical with the one mentioned above, (ii) the author of the Ajax tragedy was the elder Carcinus (who was a contemporary of Aristophanes), or his very productive and successful grandson (who flourished in the middle of the fourth century B.C.). It is possible that the event which gave rise to the proverb did not antedate Menander's Perinthia by many years, but the relevance of the proverb to the tragic plot, where doubtless Carcinus presented Odysseus as a man bent on securing his own ends by dishonest means if necessary, just as Sophocles had done in Philoctetes (for instance 79-85, 108 f., 1047-1053), is far clearer than its application in Menander's play.*

*The reference here to a 'first' Perinthia is not supported by other known evidence; if correct, it must imply that either one play was produced twice in two different versions, or two different plays shared the same title, like Menander's two Adelphoi.*



## MENANDER

### *Four testimonia about Περινθία*

#### I

Terence, *Andria* 9–14:

- 9 Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam;  
10 qui utramuis recte norit, ambas nouerit:  
non ita dissimili sunt argumento, et tamen  
dissimili oratione sunt factae et stilo.  
quae conuenere in Andriam ex Perinthia  
14 fatetur transtulisse atque usum pro suis.

10 utrumuis G. 11 et *Eugraphius*: sed *all mss. except G*  
(set). 12 factae *om. G.* 14 transtulisse se *DL.*

#### II

Donatus (1. 44 Wessner) commenting on Terence, *Andria* 10  
VTRAMVIS: prima scaena Perinthiae fere isdem uerbis  
quibus *Andria* scripta est, cetera dissimilia sunt exceptis  
duobus locis, altero ad uersus XI, altera ad XX (.XX.a. A,  
.XXa (*with a deleted and uicesimum added above the line by*  
*a second hand*) C, XXOI T, XX<sup>ti</sup> V), qui in utraque fabula  
positi sunt.

#### III

Donatus (1. 45 Wessner) commenting on Terence, *Andria* 14  
FATETVR TRANSTVLISSE: sed quare ergo se onerat Teren-  
tius, cum possit uideri de una transtulisse? sic soluitur: quia  
consciis sibi est primam scaenam de Perinthia esse trans-  
latam, ubi senex ita cum uxore loquitur, ut apud Terentium  
cum liberto. at in *Andria* Menandri solus est senex.

## PERINTHIA

### *Four testimonia about Perinthia*

#### I

From the prologue to Terence's *Andria*:

Menander wrote an <i>Andria</i> and a	9
<i>Perinthia</i> ; if either is known well,	10
Both are. Their plots are not so different;	
The language, though, and style do differ. He	
Admits he took what fitted from <i>Perinthia</i>	
And used it as his own in <i>Andria</i> .	14

*The implications of this admission are discussed in the introduction to Perinthia.*

#### II

Donatus' commentary on Terence's *Andria* 10: EITHER: The first scene of (Menander's) *Perinthia* uses virtually the same words as the *Andria*, but the rest of the play is different except for two passages, one of up to 11 verses, the other up to 20, which occur in both plays.

*See the introduction to Perinthia. There is no way of identifying the two short passages which are alleged to occur in both plays.*

#### III

Donatus' commentary on Terence, *Andria* 14: HE ADMITS HE TOOK: But why then does Terence burden himself, when he could appear to have used one source? This is the answer: because he is aware that the first scene is adapted from the *Perinthia*, where an old man converses in this way with his wife, just as in Terence he converses with his freedman. But

## MENANDER

### IV

Donatus (1. 118 Wessner) commenting on Terence, *Andria* 301/2 QUID AIS BYRRRIA: has personas (Charinum, Byrrhiam) Terentius addidit fabulae—nam non sunt apud Menandrum—ne †οπιθελτον† (so A: παθητικὸν *Rabbow*, ἀπίθανον *Nencini*) fieret Philumenam spretam relinquere (relinquere sanc ti A, relinquere sane TC) sine sponso, Pamphilo aliam ducente.

## PERINTHIA

in Menander's *Andria* the old man is alone.

*See the introduction to Perinthia.*

### IV

Donatus' commentary on Terence, *Andria* 301/1: WHAT DO YOU SAY, BYRRHIA: Terence has added these characters (sc. Charinus, Byrrhia) to the play—they are not in Menander—in order to prevent it being implausible (?) that Philumena should be left rejected without a husband when Pamphilus marries somebody else.

*Donatus' words here are ambiguous; they may imply that the two characters Charinus and Byrrhia (and the subplot that they introduce) occurred in neither the Andria nor the Perinthia of Menander, but were invented by Terence; or alternatively that they did not figure in Menander's Andria, but were taken from his Perinthia. See the introduction to Perinthia.*





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